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1870

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THE  
ARABS IN SPAIN;

AN  
HISTORICAL NARRATIVE.

" Whilome on those banks did legions throng  
" Of Moor and Knight, in mailed splendour drest :  
" Here ceased the swift their race, here sunk the strong ;  
" The Paynim turban and the Christian crest  
" Mixed on the bleeding stream....."

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## PREFATORY INTRODUCTION.

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### CHAPTER I.

General remarks—The primeval centre of the eastern tribes—Their religion—Its changes and reforms—Emigration of the tribes.

#### EASTERN NATIONS.

THE early ages of this earth are obscured in a thick and impenetrable veil. Neither the ingenious conjectures of the antiquary, nor the blind credulity of the enthusiast can satisfy research, or convince reason. The laws of nature, and the limits of probability can alone guide

us through a dark and doubtful period, in which history has failed to enlighten or instruct mankind. But in the existence of a cause, and origin of all this mighty scene all men agree. In the vast circle of the earth, we shall not find the nation which has lived without some profession of faith, and without some form of worship. In the most obscure traditions of the most ancient time, we find mention of creeds, mysteries, and ceremonies which equally proclaim the forms of faith, and of superstition. All mankind allow, therefore, the existence of divine power, and the animals of the creation, and the works of nature beautifully prove it ; the study of natural philosophy also, adds another testimony, (and perhaps the most interesting and useful of all,) to the truth of this universal belief.

To the historian, the study of this science is highly advantageous, it will prevent him from admitting the marvellous, from attributing events to wrong causes ; it will teach him to trust the evidence of reason and experience, and hence, to infer juster conclusions. It opens the great field of religious contemplation, by enabling a man better to understand the great God, and to render to him in the heartfelt emotions of gratitude and admiration, the only praise worthy of his acceptance. With an ignorant world, God is deprived of that praise, and the worship which is paid him is tainted with mean notions of his attributes, or meaner and more groundless fears of his power.\*

\* The Physiologist needs no *system* of religion, no pompous assertions, no inconsistent doctrines, to show why men and animals are subject to pain, to



The opinion that Asia was the country where the human race had its beginning, and whence its increase was spread over all the earth, seems supported by many strong arguments ; and by none more so, than by the fact of its religious traditions having gradually, and from a period too remote for any history to mention, prevailed, and been adopted by all other

disease, and to death. He knows that the cause of our being, of our force, both of mental and bodily duration, is derived from the same source, which produces our infirmities, and that to this cause, we are indebted for the longing desire to avoid danger, and to discover every means of prolonging life and health. Of the former, man is more tenacious than other animals, for man is more timid than they are, from the very superiority of his mental faculties ; yet the chief part of his fears may, perhaps, be owing to ignorance and obstinacy, and the machinations of his more cunning fellow creatures.

nations. The formation of the world, the fall of man, the war of giants, the deluge, and the saving of one family, are found detailed in the Chaldean and Indian, Phenician, Egyptian, Persian and Jewish annals. The Celts carefully preserved, and the Druids mysteriously explained, all these reports or traditions.

“Tracing the people up to tribes, and the tribes to families, we are conducted at last if not by history, at least by tradition to a single pair, from which nations have been successively produced. The question has been asked, what was the first family? where was it settled? It is a question of fact, and should be answered by history; but history is profoundly silent; her first records have been destroyed by time, and the few lines preserved by Moses, serve rather to excite, than to satisfy our curiosity.” In

the feeble rays of its early dawn, which are faintly perceived about two hundred years before the commencement of our present chronology, the whole of Asia, and part of Africa are already occupied by a variety of nations. The warlike struggle is already in full activity, and here and there, are polished states, with useful inventions which must have required long time to produce and develope. The rest of the human race consists of wild hordes, occupied merely with pastoral pursuits, hunting, and robbing. Soon after, a weak glimmering discovers to us Europe in a similar state of population ; here and there traces of culture, industry, and commerce. All this, however, is perceived in only a remote obscurity, where a few points of light occasionally shoot across, to show us the germs of future history, which is still

silent respecting the time and place of such events. Nothing then is left us, but humbly to assume the garb of ignorance, and to look around in the great archives of nature, to see if there are any documents which may lead us, at least, to conjecture.

It is the opinion of Sir W. Jones, that Iran was the original centre of the primeval race, and that its dynasty Mahabedian is the oldest in the world; that from Iran went out the numerous tribes, in all directions, to the limits of the north, south, east and west. It is to be remarked, that Iran is not only Persia, but all that country extending from the Caspian to the Persian gulph in length, and from the Euphrates to the Arbis, if not the Indus, in breadth. That this supposition seems

true, may appear from the following considerations. The Saxon chronicle brings the first inhabitants of Britain from Armenia ; the Goths are supposed to come from Persia, and both Irish and old Britons from the borders of the Caspian sea. We can have but little difficulty in supposing, that as nations going forth, became oppressed by danger and suffering, they also lost any little civilisation which they might have originally possessed, and that their children, born in different circumstances and in older climates, became the hardy savage race they were everywhere found,\* while the parent

\* But even among these may be found one of the great characteristics of the old Persian in the fidelity with which they keep their promises. The word of a savage once passed, no inducement can make him

states being settled, and daily obtaining power and ease, may be presumed sooner to have acquired civilization. Let us allow, that the different religions of the world may be traced to one common origin, and if that origin be, (as seems probable,) to be found in the Assyrian or Chaldean territories, the religion they possessed there must have been that, from which all the other nations took theirs. Pure Theism was probably the first and sole religion; but when generation succeeded to generation, and the world was peopled, and nations arose and dispersed, the cares of life, time, and distance, all contributed to alloy these distinct tenets,

break it; they despise all threats, and the sophistry of civilized men they do not understand.

while those of Sabaism soon succeeded. Surely nothing could be more natural, considering how difficult it is to conceive and retain the ideas of abstracted spirit separated from all matter, we may ask, how was the early rude wanderer to pursue these tenets amidst the labours and increasing distresses of mortality? He raised his eyes to Heaven, and was struck with the splendour and power of the sun, diffusing light and heat over all the earth. He owed him thanks for the ripened fruits and flowers; and, as a direct emanation from the divinity, prayed to him and for him; soon this idea degenerated, and the sun became the vehicle or body of God and was worshipped as such.

The material nature of God once ad-

mitted, it naturally followed that the Sabaic system would be introduced. What more reasonable than that God when tired of watching and cherishing his world, should retire to repose, setting the moon to defend it during his absence. The Asiatic glorified the moon as the queen and guardian of the night ; to this followed the wish of approximating human nature to its God, and men hoped and soon believed the air, groves, temples, and fountains to be the favourite abodes of Demigods, an intermediate race, to whom they might address themselves more familiarly, and who would intercede for them at the throne of Omnipotence. The Demigods soon became gods ; the same principle of admiration and gratitude, led men to deify their



heroes, and then these heroes became gods ! Fables, craft, cruelty, and priesthood all now rise upon the scene.

If Sabaism then had been introduced before any emigration among the tribes took place, a plain view might be laid down, (and one connected by a chain of probability,) of the rise and formation of the different religious systems of the universe. In Assyria were found the first men, who if any ever did, must have entertained pure and just notions of the divinity ; they (as has been seen and known by historical records) professed the Unity, Omnipotence, and Omnipresence of God. Soon this creed, from circumstances already mentioned, became confused and unsatisfactory to the human mind which required some more

*visible* object upon which to rest its faith, and to which it might address its prayers. It, therefore, embraced the highest species of idolatry, called Sabaism or the worship of the powers of nature, and first above all was the sun ; to him, the Assyrian nation raised a temple called in Chaldaic Ba-Bel, or temple of the sun, and which first effort, according to the Jewish scriptures, was overthrown by God's anger, and the nations confounded in speech ; we may presume this account to be an inaccurate narrative of facts, or what is still more probable, an allegory. In either case we may infer, that about the period of the introduction of the worship of Bel,\* the emi-

\* That the worship of the sun or Bel was universal among the nations of the earth is apparently probable

gration of the various tribes took place ; these carried with them this religion of Sabaism, and verging out to the four quarters of the globe, laid down their tents, and in glorifying God poured forth their sacrifices and praises to the sun. For we find this Bel to be the worship of all the known nations of the earth, and among the easterns, it was evidently the origin and foundation stone of their mythology. Besides this, the east and west received ideas of a still higher divinity—that of God, among the eastern people ;

from the following considerations :

DENOMINATIONS OF THE SUN AMONG THE  
DIFFERENT NATIONS.

Assyrians, Bel.—Persians, Belus.—Indians, Vish-  
noo.—Phenicians, Adon and Bâal.—Egyptians,  
Osiris.—Greeks, Βελος.—Latins, Belus or Sol.—  
Jews, Baal.—Northern nations, Sol.

this idea, in spite of the rising idolatry was kept very pure, especially among the Persians and Indians who had very sublime notions of their Ormuzd and Brehme. The Jews, as far as Unity and Omnipotence, must stand very high in the scale, and these with the Egyptians and Phenicians are found to agree also respecting the doctrines of Duallism.\*

We may, perhaps, then with some probability conclude that the north west part of Iran commonly called the kingdom of Assyria and Chaldea contained the primitive tribes of earth, and that there the

\* Good and Evil Spirits.

|             |          |          |
|-------------|----------|----------|
| Persians.   | Ormuzd.  | Ahrâmen. |
| Indians.    | Vishnoo. | Seeva.   |
| Jews.       | Jehovah. | Satan.   |
| Egyptians.  | Osiris.  | Typhon.  |
| Phenicians. | Adon.    | Saturn.  |

doctrines of the primitive religion were taught. That very early before any history commences, Sabaism was introduced, that the Assyrians built a temple called Babel, which at that time was only intended to represent the majesty and splendour of God, and that about this period, the tribes began to emigrate, and carried this system with them, and established it over all the earth.\*

\* The rise and progress of idolatry is also apparent, augmenting and diverging in the different nations according to particular circumstances. Among those who resided near the source, such as the Persians, very pure notions were entertained what the Chaldeans professed, we may infer from Persian history and from the fact that Abraham, a native of Chaldea, seems to have entertained sublime tenets as regards the unity and Omnipotence of God. That the Indian religion was founded on the tenets of philosophy, and

Among the earliest characters of ancient time appears Abraham, a native of Chaldea, but his history is obscure

was calculated to produce both civilisation and mildness of manners, the readers of Hindostanee history, will, I think, readily admit. Among the Egyptians, the primitive idea remained for some time, till distance, time and superstition, altogether changed it. Those nations secluded, and living in peace, preserved the original simplicity of their religious faith, pretty exactly, while others such as Phenicians, Medes, Arabians and Egyptians, altered very greatly. The nations of the west, such as Greece and Rome seem to have no sooner embraced the great idea, than they again confused it with conceits and fabulous theogony.

In ancient times, (*i. e.* when their religion was first imported,) the heathens believed there was but one God ; when it lightened they called him Jupiter ; when at sea, Neptune ; when in council, Minerva ; when in war, Mars. That the nations of the

and unsatisfactory ; he has been considered to have been the reformer of the Persian, Indian, Arabian and Jewish religions, and to have spread his tenets over the tract of country which lies from the Euphrates to Palestine. His father's name was Agar or Tharé, of low origin and of a servile trade. The religion of his country had risen or sunk into idolatry, and Tharé turned his talents towards making images for the temple of Babylon. It seems probable that there,

west drew their ideas from the eastern sources cannot be doubted when we remember Jupiter and the Giants, Pluto and Hell, the rape of Proserpine and all the conflicts of their good and evil Daimonia. Apollo was imported from Egypt into Greece ; his original name was Theba, hence, *φοιροι*. The Egyptians said he was the son of Jupiter and Latona, that meant he was created of God out of the Chaos Latona—hidden.

both Sabaism and Divi were, at this period, mixed up, and formed the prevailing religion of the state. Where Abraham received his better notions of the divinity is uncertain ; perhaps contemplation and the ancient traditions of his country naturally led him to infer the great axiom of the unity of God. It appears certain he possessed and laid it down as his great tenet, and throughout all those countries which possessed the Milet, Ibrahim, we find it universally believed, and there seems also to have been another tenet of his, the credence of Duallism, a singular and important article. The different histories all treat him as a great and holy man, the friend of God and of true religion, and the reformer of the corrupted worship of India, Persia, and Syria. He abandoned idolatry, and for attempting to reform and purify the church of Babylon,



he incurred the vengeance of its priesthood, and was constrained to fly ; he was honourably received by the Persians, Arabians and Jews, and among all these people, he introduced his doctrines and purified their minds. We learn also that he was skilled in astronomy and arithmetic.

The eastern nations all claim to be his descendants ; the Persians, Arabians and Jews, have each their history of him. In the former, he is represented as a wise and benevolent man, a corrector of abuses, and a pattern of virtue and goodness. In the Arabic, he has the qualities of a mighty conqueror added to all these attributes ; in the last, he has so particular and so different a biography that we might fairly suppose him to be another Abraham, whose feats and adventures

were narrated, were it not that his birth, parentage and country, all refer to one and the same person. His name has been magnified among the sons of men, and we may surmise that, in all probability, he lived in a period when Babylon, Persia, Phenicia and Egypt were all highly civilised and idolatrous. He was a Chaldean, and a man of a superior mind, and much above the station in which he happened to be born: all nations agree in allowing him a prolonged life, but the Easterns dispute about the place of his interment. The Jews declare he lies in the valley of the Hebron, the Persians say otherwise, and the Arabs perform their religious duties in the perfect confidence that he lived and died at Mecca; we find his name in all ancient history, and among the mild philosophers

of the Indus, their great father the grave, the simple and the virtuous, Ibrahim was always mentioned with the deepest respect and affection. In perusing the religious notions of the east, we shall find none more philosophic and sublime than those the Hindoos entertained of God, nor a purer manner than that in which they describe his divine nature ; Omnis- cience, Omnipotence, Omnipresence, without beginning and without end. By it, are all men animals, and things enlivened, nourished, and destroyed ; every work of nature is an emanation from the divinity ; God is eternal, feels not the past, the present, or the future. Indifference to worldly things from time to eternity ; such are the attributes of the Hindoo God.

No doctrine of Atheism, no tenet of

annihilation is laid down in the religion of Brahma, or in the belief, that after many years of trial, we shall be made perfect, and all in due season be gathered together and reunited to that great essence of bliss and perfection from whence we derive our origin.\*

\* On the contrary, instead of Atheism, I see, great philosophy, and a religion at once simple and sublime.

In the Celtic Eda we find Gylphe, an ancient king of Sweden or Scandinavia, gaining entrance into Heaven (in a vision,) and there permitted to ask certain questions, the answers to which prove that the people of the Celtic nations took their religious creeds from the old source, Asia, and that these creeds differ only inasmuch as the divinities appear here with names and attributes suited to the genius of a sea-faring and a warlike people. Frigga or Frea, was the wife of the supreme. Frea was the earth, and

Without guessing at the essence of divine nature, the Shasta lays down an express prohibition against seeking into

this again tallies with the Egyptian and Phenician theories. Thor was the first emanation of this conjunction. Thor was the great hero of Scandinavia. He was at once their Mars and Jupiter ; we discover also that Thor was the Tarran of the Gauls, (see Luc. Phars. Lib. I. V. 444, and Commocas.) And that Taran was Welch for thunder, and that in the Highlands of Scotland, Toron expresses the same phenomenon. Can we doubt the origin of the northern religions, or not perceive the great connexion ? The sun rays the Edda, devours the moon, and such was their idea of eclipses, and such the origin of the fable alluded to both by Greek and Roman authors. (*Vide Juvenal, Sat. VI. and Mém. de la Chine, Acad. de B. L. Vol. II.*) also

|             |         |                 |
|-------------|---------|-----------------|
| In Chaldee, | Ur was. | } Sun or Light. |
| In Egypt.   | Or.     |                 |
| Greek.      | Ayr.    |                 |

the nature of God, and this prohibition is enjoined for the best of reasons, that it is not possible that God should be discovered. The description of events, handed down by ancient tradition, are told with majesty and grace ; the rebellion, the fall, and the subsequent pardon are narrated with the most rigid simplicity. For in the Shasta, neither God nor Heaven, nor the Angels, nor their numbers are attempted to be described, and

|           |         |                 |
|-----------|---------|-----------------|
| Latin.    | Aurora. | } Sun or Light. |
| Assyrian. | Shor.   |                 |
| Egyptian. | Tauros. |                 |

Also Northern Deities were described by opposites. Such as——

|         |           |                  |
|---------|-----------|------------------|
| Thor,   | Jupiter,  | Dios or Zeus.    |
| Scater, | Saturnus, | Typhon, &c.      |
| Treiga, | Diana,    | V Venus, V Isis. |

no picture of hell or of the Majian torrents which decorated the other theogonies of the east. The immaterial essence of all power is spoken of with becoming reverence, and no effort is made to give form or figure either to the whole or to its parts.

The theology of India bears the stamp of great meditation, and its author or authors must have lived at a period when civilisation had made great progress, and when physical and moral causes and effects had been long considered and deeply investigated. The Brahmins pretend to have possessed the Shasta above fifty thousand years ; but without either augmenting or diminishing this long period, we may allow that the religion of Brahma, Vishnoo, and Seeva, has a most remote place in the records of antiquity.

The more religion is studied, the more philosophic it will appear ; and the more it is compared with the other religious creeds of infant nations, the more readily will the highest place be conceded to its doctrine. It wants the magic of Chaldea, the brilliancy of Persia, the splendor of Arabia, and the *real* materialism of Judea ; but its creeds, though mystified, may be explained, and when explained, will be found to contain the simple truths of nature amplified by a high, though speculative, philosophy. For under the name of Brahma, Vishnoo, and Seeva, (the creator, cherisher, and destroyer,) the Brahmin worshipped one God, and two causes, the sun and time.

The former was loved as the preserver



of all nature ; the latter was feared, and propitiated as the corruptor and destroyer. The symbols of their worship were found to be the bodily representations of these things immaterial.

The priesthood has mystified the simplest, and darkened the least clear portions of these doctrines till it has thus added a no inconsiderable load of folly and superstition. But the priests of Brahma are surely not singular, nor can we allow ourselves to deny the philosophy, because we may be disgusted with the visible forms of a religion.

The more we view the ceremonies, the more we read of the ideas, and customs of the Hindoos and compare them with those of Egypt, the more we shall be convinced of the probability of these two

having mixed together at a very early period, or of their having had one common origin.\*

In the former part of this chapter, I have attempted to infer, that the much talked of magic of Chaldea was once a pure and simple religion. That the first deviations from it produced Sabaism, and that Babel was built in honour of the

\* It is asserted, by many writers, that Chaldea was the first, and Persia the second station of the Nomad tribes, and that their religions were widely different. Every reason induces me to believe that they were originally the same, and that the sooner civilisation arrived, the more quickly idolatry was introduced ; it is probable that in the valleys of Cashmere and on the banks of Indus, they were kept purer for a longer period than among those who remained at the centre of the civilising community.

sun, the language of Chaldea, the site of Babylon, and the posterior name of its temple appear to prove the truth of this assertion.\*

I also assume the magic of Chaldea to have been produced by the progress of civilisation, and the nature of the country and climate, acting on ardent and specu-

\* Ur, the birth-place of Abraham was celebrated for its University or school of astronomy, and doubtless magic and other arts. (*Vid. Strabo Lib. 16, Diodorus Siculus. Lib. 2.*

*Chaldeans* were called in eastern language, “*Chasidim*, from, as (is supposed) one Chesed or Chas. The Greeks, like the French, were a vain people, and loved to call nations and places either by a corruption of the original name, or from derivation of their own. *Χαλδαιοι* was the name they gave the Chesadim, hence *Chaldeans*.

lative minds. By the study of physics, the Chaldeans acquired much knowledge, but in the practice of astrology they imagined more.

## CHAPTER II.

Climate of India, and its fertility—Conquest of Alexander—The Ancient Trade, the Voyage of Vasco da Gama—Remarks on the Antiquity and Literature of Hindostan.

### INDIA.

OF all the countries on the Asiatic continent, India has excited the greatest interest and enjoyed the highest celebrity. The exploits of the conquerors, who made it the object of their warlike expeditions, as also the splendid productions of na-

ture and art, which were thence imported, procured for it a great name, even in the remotest ages of antiquity.

It has always appeared to the imagination of the western world, as adorned with whatever was most splendid and joyous, abounding in gold and gems, and redolent of fragrant odours. Although in these magnificent conceptions, the hand of poetic illusion has a share, still, India forms, unquestionably, one of the most remarkable regions on the surface of the globe. The varied grandeur of its scenery, and the rich and copious productions of its soil are not excelled in any other country ; and it is extremely probable that it was, if not the first, one of the earliest seats of civilisation, laws, arts, and of all those varied qualities which constitute the charm of social life. These, it is true,

had at no period advanced to the same pitch of refinement as they afterwards did in Europe ; but they were developed in very splendid and original forms, and displayed human nature under most striking and singular aspects. The territory of India, a rich and fertile district, “ whose streamlets are as rivers, and whose rivers may be compared to oceans,”\* had at a very early age attracted the attention and avarice of the ancients ; but Dr. Robertson thinks, and with most conclusive reasoning, that Sesostris never saw India,† nor was it till

\* Major Rennell’s India.

† Robertson’s disquisition.—Major Rennell says, he inclines to believe a colony of *Egyptians* peopled India, at least the maritime parts, as the trade was of course carried on *by sea*. He adds, “ this might be expected from a nation so enterprizing as to under-

the Macedonian monarch and his armies crossed the Paropamissus, that these plains were made visible to European

take the circumnavigation of Africa, as there *can be no doubt* the *Egyptians* did under one of their Pharaohs!" This is truly surprising, when and where, till the age of the Ptolemies did he find the *Egyptians* were a maritime people. In every record, both of ancient and modern times, we find arguments and proofs to the contrary. See Plinii, Hist. Nat.; Herodotus' Typhon, Book 2; Robertson's India, and Gibbons' Misc. Works, Vol. iii. In Herodotus' Melpomene, we find the mention of this interesting subject, as undertaken by the *Phenicians* during the reign, and at the command of the Egyptian King Nechos. He says they took three years in doing it, that they went on shore in Lybia, sowed corn, waited the harvest, and put to sea again after cutting it. Thus nearly *two years* were consumed, and the third they put to sea again, and pursued their journey, and passing the pillars of Hercules, returned again to Canopus. Gibbon tries to confute the whole of this



eyes. Although the armies of Europe, up to that period, had never penetrated into the interior of India, yet some nations had an intercourse for trade with it from the remotest time. Among these,

narrative; but there is nothing very improbable in it. For when Vasco da Gama sailed from Portugal in after times with better shipping, and better maritime knowledge, he took ten months for his voyage to India, which was not longer than surrounding Africa, and returning by the pillars of Hercules to Egypt. Gibbon, in his *Dissertation*, makes it an objection that the Phenicians should have taken so long a time, but does not seem to consider that they both replenished their stores and consumed a great deal of time in Lybia, which well accounts for it. Gibbon, *Misc. Works*, Vol. v, p. 170. For more probable arguments why Indians and Egyptians were originally the same, see Sir Wm. Jones's *Dissertations on India*, Vol. i. p. 112. See also the words of Arrian, on Alexander's Expedition, Lib. vi, cap. i.

the most conspicuous were the Phenicians, celebrated for their enterprize, and enormous riches. The Egyptian hated and abandoned the ocean, and the Persian religiously abstained from entering on its bosom. The Phenicians seized by conquest some ports on the Arabian Gulf, and there built ships. They traded to India for many centuries, and the monopoly they enjoyed, raised the envy and admiration of the surrounding nations, and of none more than that of the Jews. By one of these people, the glories and the pride of the Phenicians have been described, and her commerce minutely detailed. From him we learn what magnificence was displayed by the Princes of Tyre, and while their opulence excited his admiration, their pride called down

his vengeance.\* To the monopoly of the Phenicians, the invasion and conquests of Alexander the Great placed considerable obstacles at first, and at a later period put an entire end. In the character of Alexander we see, not only an undaunted general, but a sagacious statesman, whose plans for conquest were formed with some definite purpose, and who more than any ancient conqueror seems to have studied, while gratifying his ambition, the interests of mankind. The spirit with which the Tyrians defended their capital, while it, perhaps, contributed to its destruction, showed Alexander with what energy a commercial people could struggle for the treasures and independence which its enterprize and industry

\* Ezekiel.

had procured ; probably, therefore, the Macedonian determined to build some similar city, which should be the depository of the east, and the emporium of the whole commercial world. He selected the spot where Alexandria now stands, and after ages approved the judgment, and acknowledged the sagacity of the founder. The goods from India were carried from the Red Sea across the desert to the Nile, and thence shot down that river to Alexandria. Again in India, after having conquered the brave Porus, with what tact and generosity did he secure the fierce Indian as his constant ally.\* In returning from India he gave orders to remove the dams which shackled the course of the Euphrates and Tygris, and

\* Arriani, Exped.

which a blind superstition had placed there, in order that those rivers might supply his Asiatic, while the Arabian sea did the same for his African and European dominions.

In character he was violent and intemperate, and he was by birth a king, and a soldier. The king of half the world would not be likely to submit his will, or consult that of others, and the licentiousness of his private life was copied from parental authority, and was at once the manner and the disgrace of his age. Yet in taking a survey of the character of this great warrior, I am inclined to think we shall find the severe and cruel acts of his public life suggested by an idea of their necessity, while the benefits which he conferred were the effects of his own sagacity, and the promptings of a mind

originally generous, and which had been enlightened by the philosophy of Greece, and the instructions of one of its wisest citizens. The ire of the conquered Indians might have been roused by the ambition of Alexander, but it was softened and appeased by his prudence and kindness, while their friendship was confirmed by his good faith towards them. He sought not to overturn their altars, he did not think himself entitled to insult their deities, or force a foreign and unknown creed into the temples of Hindostan. His prudence and policy were long and faithfully remembered by the Indians and praised by their ultimate posterity. As he was the first, so he was the best conqueror who ever entered Hindostan, nor has any subsequent invader had an equal success, or obtained an equal friendship

with the natives of that country. At the death of this monarch, and the division of his immense empire, India, (so admirably had he formed his policy) remained under the government of Seleucus, nor did Porus and others, though aware of the death of their benefactor, ever throw off their obedience to his successors. The expedition of Seleucus is uncertain and obscure, but about one hundred and twenty-six years before the christian era, a band of Tartars or Scythians passed the Jaxartes, poured in upon India and destroyed the Greek dominion, after one hundred and thirty years of continuance. From that period to the close of the fifteenth century, no military excursions were made into India ; but the Asiatic nations continued to traffic for her precious commodities with eagerness and

advantage. The city of Alexandria had become the emporium of trade, and the reigns of the Ptolemies had given to Egypt a navy and a brilliant name for industry and opulence. When the Egyptian kings disappear and the dignity of the country was merged in that of a Roman province, under Augustus Cæsar, the trade with India was carried on in the same manner as heretofore. Besides, the maritime commerce by the Red Sea, caravans entering the eastern confines of Persia and Armenia, spread the riches of the Ganges over the environs of Asia Minor. The trade was also greatly encreased, owing to the enormous wealth of the Romans, and principally those of the capital. The chief imports from, were precious stones, especially pearls, spices, and fragrant aromatics, and silks from the Sera or



Siamese territories, or in other words, China. The exports, owing to the fertility of India, and exquisite skill of the natives consisted chiefly of silver and gold coins. Hippalus an acute and intrepid mariner struck out a new route by bearing immediately towards the south head-land of Arabia, and then sailing direct for Bompaza;\* but although this was at once a shorter, and, with a little experience, a safer course, the people trading in these latitudes preferred the old way of creeping down one coast and up another—a long and tedious method continued from timidity or prejudice. So greatly was silk esteemed, that the Roman emperors

\* Danville, *Geogr. Antiq. Asia*, vol. i. Dr. Robertson's *Disquisition*, *Charta antiquæ Asiæ*, by Ptolomæus, Amsterdam, 1618, fol.

tried every means to discover the secret of its manufacture but in vain ; and a long period elapsed before two travelling monks from China revealed to the emperor\* that it was an animal and not a vegetable production. Their zeal was rewarded, the industry at Constantinople was eagerly encouraged, and the trade between Europe and China suffered a considerable decline. About four hundred years from this epoch the Mahometans had spread their dominions from the confines of Persia, to Gibraltar, and from the extremity of Assyria to the Indian seas. They possessed in Alexandria, the key to Indian commerce, and shut out the Europeans from the intercourse which had previously subsisted. To prevent the Greeks of Asia Minor being supplied

\* Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, Vol. x.

by means of the Persian Gulf, they there built the fortified city of Bussora ; yet, the desire and determination to possess the Indian luxuries, was so great that the dangerous and tedious track through the north of India, through Scythia, down the Oxus into the Caspian, and from thence by land to the river Phasis, which falls into the Euxine, was continually traversed, though subject to the attack of the Scythians and Colchians ; these nations always considering the caravans as lawful pillage. By degrees the Venetians commenced a small trade with the detested infidels, and found it so profitable, that they demanded and obtained from the Pope a bull, by which they were allowed to renew their commercial intercourse with Alexandria, and the east. This was speedily arrang-

ed, and the Venetians continued to enjoy, for many years, a rich and increasing monopoly. The states of northern Europe, growing up from barbarism into rich and polished societies, affected and sought the elegance and delicacy of Indian manufactures. The city of Bruges became the storehouse of this part of the world, and the Venetians acted as purveyors ; but two great events now took place, which changed the channels of commerce, and excited the other nations of Europe to enterprize. Columbus discovered the new world, and Vasco da Gama opened a new route to India by doubling the long talked of, and much dreaded Cape of Storms, now called, of Good Hope. In spite of the strenuous efforts of the Venetians, and the frequent fleets of the Sultans, the Portuguese

established their power in India, wrested Ormus from the Persians, and rendered Lisbon the emporium of the east. This enterprizing nation, under a sagacious monarch, and brave leaders, overthrew the monopoly of Venice, defeated the power, and derided the threats of the Mussulman, and soon supplied all Europe at a better price, and in a more ample form than was ever known before ; the consequence was, that Indian luxury was spread over all the European continents. There still continued to be a caravan from China to Asia minor by the old route, and an immense inland commerce from the caravans of Syria and Egypt in their annual pilgrimage to Mecca, which benefited both the temporal and spiritual concerns of the faithful. Such is a brief and imperfect sketch of

the political history of old India. But if the precious commodities, which India could furnish to the luxury of Asia and Europe, were sufficient to produce from very early times, and for many centuries, such enterprize, such emulation, and such industry, as that which the Tyrians began, and Vasco da Gama completed, the intercourse with India, from the time of Alexander's expedition to the present epoch, had been no less assiduously cultivated from another and a very different cause. When Columbus landed in America, he found a rude and simple race of warriors, who possessed few institutions, either moral or political, and had no tradition, save oral, of their history or ancestors.\* Some of the tribes were very

\* Robertson's America, Vol. i. Voyages of Columbus, by W. Irving, Vol. i.

fierce, and others less so ; but in none were the marks of a civilized state visible. The arts they practised were in the rudest state, and literature or science were alike unknown in meaning, and unexpressible in their language. They had a religion of superstition, and this was absolutely the only mark by which they might claim alliance with their European or Asiatic brethren. But the intruders beyond the Indus, and those landing on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, found, with surprise and interest, a society far advanced in the civilized duties of life, and a mild and contemplative religion filled with the best precepts of morality and human patience, embracing ideas of the highest philosophy, and diversified with light and agreeable fancies, though stained with frivolous and unworthy ideas.

They were presented with an association, religiously and politically organized in a manner, that was at any rate equal to the most refined of the European states.\* They found the Indians divided into four separate castes, inalienable, impossible to be mixed, and which they contended were ordained by divine revelation.† The first of these was marked out for their priesthood, the second for their kings and generals; the third for agriculture and traffic, the last for menial labour. As

\* Arriani, *Exped. Alex.*; he says the Indians were divided in seven castes, vide cap. vi.

|                        | Meaning.        | Indication.  |
|------------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| † The tribe of Brahma. | Mouth.          | Wisdom.      |
| “                      | Chehtene, Arms. | Strength.    |
| “                      | Bicè, Stomach.  | Nourishment. |
| “                      | Sooder, Feet.   | Subjection.  |



no Hindoo ever thought of aspiring to a higher caste than that in which he was born, it is evident that each man following the same destination or business of life, must have been the means of perfecting each art and science, though, at the same time, it tended to depress enterprize, and thus retard, if not destroy, the progressing spirit of the nation. And the Hindoos were in that position in fact, for while they had brought perfection to the arts they practised, and the sciences they had studied, these same seemed to have descended to them from a remote ancestry. The spirit of improvement slept, and that of innovation, even if it had ever existed, had expired. The rulers of the nation were the Brahmins ; these had ordained the laws, these had separated

the tribes, and like that of Levi among the Jews, had appropriated to themselves the power and riches of the people, clothing their authority with religious forms, the sole interpreters of the will of God ; they preached the decrees and service of that worship, in an unknown tongue, and the priest of Isis, and the prophet of Israel, and the Pontiff of Rome never possessed more power than did the ministers of the god of Brahma. The Paria was a name which struck deeper terror to the soul of an Indian, than ever were produced upon the heart of the catholic by the fiercest anathema hurled from the Vatican of Rome. The accounts of twenty-two centuries ago, represent the Indians as a people who stood very high for civilization. They were skilled in architecture, and their temples possessed

many monuments which combined the magnificence of Egypt with a lighter and more elegant taste. They had considered the abstruse questions of metaphysics and made considerable progress in the science of natural history. They had far advanced in astronomy, and when Europe attributed to the Arabians the useful invention of the ten numbers, these were candid enough to acknowledge that they had brought them from the banks of the Ganges. In the art of poetry, they had produced their Homer, and in the drama, they had possessed works which were not inferior in morality or majesty of sentiment to the frigid declamations of the Greek stage.\* One thousand two hun-

\* While the Roman senators were spreading their empire, and losing their firmness and virtue, while

dred years before the Christian era, the

the north of Europe was hid in obscurity, and its inhabitants were savage, the people of India beheld the efforts of a poet, and enjoyed the amusement of an elegant and ingenious drama. Sacontalà or the Fatal Ring, a play in six acts by Cálidasá, was represented at the court of Vieramádyá, a poliahed and learned monarch, with all the splendour and dress of scenery which the opulence of the country could furnish. Asiatic Researches, Vol. x. Jones's Essays, Vol. iii.

PLOT OF THE DRAMA OF SACONTALA.

The plot is as follows : Dushmanta, a King hunting in a forest, is met by a holy Brahmin, who invites him to go into the sacred hermitage, and behold the beautiful Sacontalà, who, in the absence of her father, the sacred Comma, will receive and pay to strangers all due honours. The King accordingly enters the grove, and on seeing Sacontalà, is powerfully smitten with her charms. Sacontalà is attended by two of her female friends, Anusuya and Priameda, who soon

Vedas had been propounded to the natives

perceived that both the King and their protégée are equally taken with each other, and they, admiring the appearance of Dushmanta, rather encourage him, while they banter Sacotalà on her bashfulness and pride, which is increased by their discovering Dushmanta to be the King, upon his presenting Sacotalà with his ring. In this scene, the author has displayed talents of no common order; the modesty and pride of the maiden, at the first address of Dushmanta, her increasing love struggling with that pride displayed in the reproofs she addresses to her young damsels, her elegant speeches, her refined yet true coquetry at last finishes a scene of great dramatic display and effect. The second act introduces Madharya, a court buffoon or jester, not probably considered a dishonourable employment, since we find he is of the Brahmin caste. If we are not excited to broad laughter by his wit, there is no disgusting allusions to offend or tire, yet his remarks are pertinent, and his pleasantry considerable.

Sacotalà made ill by the violent effects of love, as well as Dushmanta appears attended by her

of Hindoo, and four hundred years after-

maidens, to whom in a scene of great taste, she confesses the cause of her illness ; at which moment the King unperceived approaches, and hearing it, is delighted. The lovers, on some slight pretence, are left together, and a scene of animated courtship closes the third act. The fourth act is full of pathos and reality. Sacontalà is married by her two friends ; An and P, are doubting in what manner her father Comma will receive the news, when they are interrupted by a curse uttered from the lips of choleric Durrisah upon Sacontalà, who when he craved admission, was so absorbed in her love, as not to hear. As P. frightened by his imprecation which was to the effect, that when her husband should see her next, (the King had departed to his capital Hastinapma) he should forget her entirely, earnestly implore him to revoke his words, and appease him by all the means in their power ; at last Durrisah, though he will not recall his words, states that the spell will be removed when Dushmanta shall see his ring. Comma returns already informed of, and highly approving the

wards, or eight hundred years before

marriage, and giving orders for the journey of Sacontalà to Hastinapma ; this delights the two friends, who plan how they may convey the ring to Dushmanta. They agree not to agitate Sacontalà, by informing her of the imprecation, and depart ; the preparations then commence, and the author has clothed the remainder of the act with every possible grace of a brilliant fancy, and poetry. The regret of the venerable Comma, the weeping damsels, who while they recommend firmness to the bride, cannot refrain from tears themselves, and more than all the affliction of Sacontalà, her fondness and respect for her father ; her love for her friends, her affection for each plant, and tendril among which she has been reared, and which have claimed her earliest cares ; the place of her childhood and happy youth, all are drawn with a truth and energy of description, which surpass our expectation, and strongly claim admiration and interest. At last, amid the tears and blessings of the hermits and wood nymphs, she departs, and the act closes. The fifth act opens, and discovers the palace

Christianity, the Menu had been deliver-

of Dushmanta; the hermit with Sacontalà arise, and are introduced ; the spell of Durrisah operates, the King cannot remember his wife ; they all upbraid him, and Sacontalà attempting to show the ring, she finds she has it not. The King thereby is more than ever convinced the whole thing is false, and Sacontalà's affliction is greatly augmented. Her relation Giratini suggests, perhaps, that she has dropt it in a river, where she stopped to perform a lustration ; this has no effect on the King. The hermits, after bitterly upbraiding him, leave Sacontalà and retire, and she, in the greatest misery is about to follow, when the priest of Dushmanta offers to receive her in his house till the child of which she was pregnant should be born ; to which the King assents with cold indifference, and Sacontalà follows bewailing her fate, and, as she supposes, the monarch's duplicity ; a prodigy appears, when Sacontalà is lifted up by divine power in a blaze of light, and disappears ; upon this being reported to the King, he is convinced there has been sorcery throughout the case. Act six—a fisherman



ed to them.\* The laws of Menu, the son

is apprehended with the ring in his possession. He declared he found it in the belly of a fish; the King upon receiving it, exhibits great agitation, he orders the fisherman to be released, and gives him an enormous reward. His memory is now returned, grief and the deepest penitance succeed; all jubilee is forbidden, and he dresses in sad coloured garments; his mind is heavy with affliction, and his body wasted. In the meantime, Sacontalà has been concealed and protected by Menaca, her goddess mother, (she being the child of Menaca and a great King,) a nymph is sent to attend the King, and watch the symptoms of returning love. While the King is plunged in woe, his jester, Madharya is carried off by Matali charioteer of India. Dushmanta releases him, recognises Matali, and goes off with him on an expedition in his car above the clouds, where the seventh act opens. Dushmanta descends with Matali in a grove where he perceives a fiery boy playing with a

\* Jones's Discourses to the Bombay Society, Vol. vii. *Asiat. Res.*

of Brahma consist of twelve chapters, and are, in fact, a code of morals, religion, and legislation delivered by Menu, the son of Brahma, to Brigie, and may be compared with those delivered by Moses to the Israelites.\* Whatever fanciful ideas and

young lion; he approaches him; the attendants discover him to Dushmanta, they run to announce the same to Sacontalà; the meeting takes place, affection is renewed, happiness restored, and Sacontalà rightly divined the cause of all ~~her~~ her affliction, by the reappearance of the Fatal ring.

\* They are digested in the following order:—

Chap. 1. Of the Creation.

“ 2. On Education of Priests.

“ 3. On Marriages, 2d. classes.

“ 4. On Private morals.

“ 5. On Diet, Purification, and Women.

“ 6. On Devotion, 3rd. and 4th. class.

“ 7. On Government, 2d. class.

frivolous sentiments may be herein found,

### LAWS OF MENU.

The following are among the most striking verses in these chapters. The Indian Cosmogony is thus explained, and fully set forth.

CAP. I. S. 7.—He whom the mind alone can perceive, whose essence eludes the external organs, who has no visible parts, who exists from eternity even HE, the soul of all beings, shone forth in person.

S. 8.—HE (*a*) having willed to produce various

“ 8. On Judicature.

“ 9. On the Commercial class.

“ 10. On the mixed classes.

“ 11. On Penance and expiation.

“ 12. On Transmigration, and final Beatitude,

Ibidem, Vol. iii.

(*a*) It had been before said that HE was essence immaterial. *Divine substance* is merely an epithet, not an attribute. The God of Brahma was permanent, *immaterial*.

however inferior they may now appear to

beings from his own *divine substance*, first with a thought created the waters, and placed in them a productive seed.

S. 9.—That seed became an egg, bright as gold, blazing like a luminary with a thousand beams, and in that egg HE was, in the form of Brahma, the great forefather of all spirits.

S. 10.—The waters are called *nará*, because they were the production of NARA, or the spirit of God, and since they were his first Ayana or place of motion he thence is named *Máráyana*, or moving on the waters. (*b*)

S. 11.—From that which is, the first cause, not the

(*b*) Here is the point whence Bryant takes his analogy. The Indian cosmogony begins after the flood, the egg is the ark and Brahma is Noah, when the Indians may have confounded with Abraham, the great fore-father of all spirits. Considering the *antiquity of these books*, the idea must have risen from their *own knowledge* of the deluge.

an age enlightened by revelation and

object of sense, existing everywhere in substance, not existing to our perception, without beginning or end, was produced the divine male, famed in all worlds under the appellation of Brahma.

S. 12.—In that egg the great power sat inactive a whole year of the Creator, (a) at the close of which, by his thought alone, he caused the egg to divide.

S. 13.—From the two divisions, he framed the heaven above, and the earth beneath, in the midst he placed the subtil ether, the eight regions, and the permanent receptacle of waters.

S. 14.—From the supreme soul he drew forth mind existing substantially, though unperceived by sense, immaterial, and before mind or the reasoning power, he produced consciousness, the eternal monitor, the ruler.

S. 31.—That the human race might be multiplied HE (i.e. the Creator) caused the Brahmin (Scripture) Cshatriya (protection) the Vaisya (wealth) and the

(a) About 365,000 years.

truth, the antiquary will revere them for

(Sudrabor) to proceed from his mouth, arm, thigh, and foot.

S. 92.— Having divided his own substance, the mighty power became half male, half female, or nature, active and passive, and from that female *he* produced briañ. And Viraj produced, first ten Lords of the Creation, holy men, and then came benevolent genii, fierce giants, nymphs, demons, &c. &c. and all beings, and effects of nature.

For the duties of the four orders, vid. v. 37 to 93.

For the rights and principles of a Brahmin, vid. S. 99. When a Brahmin springs to light, he is borne above the world, the chief of all creatures assigned to guard the treasury of duties, religious and civil.

S. 100.— Whatever exists in the universe is in effect, although not in form, the wealth of the Brahmin, since the Brahmin is entitled to it all by his primogeniture and birth.

S. 101.— The Brahmin eats but his own food,

their long standing of nearly three thou-

wears but his own apparel, and bestows but his own in alms. *Through the benevolence of the Brahmin, indeed, the other mortals enjoy life.*

This is out-heroding Herod.

CAP. II. S. 25 to 190 contains the ceremonies to be used when a Brahmin is born and named. The duties of his early youth, humility, devotion, self-denial, austerity and respect to his parents and preceptor, and the greatest chastity.

S. 220.—Good choice in marriage, as at S. 240.

244.—That Brahmin who has dutifully attended his preceptor till the dissolution of his body, passes directly to go to the eternal mansion of God.

249.—The twice born man, who shall thus without intermission pass away, shall after death ascend to the most exalted of regions, and no more spring to birth in this lower world.

CAP. IV. Tells us the duties of a Brahmin : after his education is over, he is to take a wife, his and all men's duties in the married state, and at all times :

sand years ; the historian will view them

much that is absurd, but more that is just and beautiful.

I now pass to the 12th and last Chapter.

S. 15.—From the substance of *that Supreme spirit* are diffused like sparks of fire, innumerable vital spirits, who give motion perpetually to creatures exalted and base.

16.—By the vital souls of those men who have committed sins in the body reduced to ashes, another body composed of *nerves* with fine sensations, in order to be susceptible of torment, shall certainly be assumed after death.

17.—And being intimately united with minute nervous particles, shall feel in that new body the pangs inflicted by Yama i. e. Pluto.

18.—When the vital soul has gathered the fruit of sins which arise from a love of sensual pleasure, but must produce misery, and when its taint has been removed, it again approaches those two most effulgent essences, *the intellectual soul and the divine spirit*.



as the base on which were founded the

20.—If the vital spirit had practised virtue for the most part, and vice in a small degree, it enjoys delight in celestial abodes, clothed with a body formed of elementary particles.

21.—*But* if it had generally been addicted to vice, and seldom attended to virtue, then shall it be deserted by those pure elements, and having a *coarser body of sensible nerves*, it feels the pains to which Yama shall doom it.

22.—Having endeavoured, it again reaches the fine pure elements in the order of their natural distribution.

23.—Let each man, considering with his intellectual powers, these migrations of the soul according to its virtue or vice into a region of bliss or pain, *continually fix his heart on virtue*.

24.—For in the knowledge and adoration of one God, which the Veda teaches, all the rules of good conduct are fully comprised.

laws of a great, polished, and interesting

EXTRACTED FROM THE "MANAVA SASTRA."

V. 128.—Him, some adore as transcendantly present in elementary fire, others in Menu, lord of creation *or an agent in, the creation*; some as India regent of the clouds and atmosphere, others in pure air, others as the high eternal spirit.

118.—Let every Brahmin with fixed attention consider all nature; both visible and invisible; as exist in the divine spirit, for when he contemplates the boundless universe existing in the divine spirit, he cannot give his heart to iniquity.

124.—He who pervading all beings in five elemental forms, causes them by the gradations of birth, youth, and dissolution, to revolve in this world until they deserve beatitude like unto the wheels of a car.

125.—Thus the man, who perceives in his own soul the supreme soul present in all creatures, acquires equanimity towards them all, and shall be

people ; and the philosopher will admire precepts and a style which have an austere majesty that sounds like the language of legislation, and extorts a respectful awe. The sentiments of independence on all beings but God, and the harsh admonition to kings, are truly noble. The many panegyrics on the Gayatri, the mother, as it is called, of the Vedà, prove the author to have adored not the visible sun, but that divine and incomparably greater light, to use the words of the most venerable text in the Indian scripture, “which illumines

absorbed at last in the highest essence, even that of the Almighty himself.

Here ended the Manava Sastra of Brigi, the son of Menu, who was the son of Brahma, who was the son of God.

all, from which all proceed, to which all must return, and which alone can irradiate our intellects.”\* The beauty of India, its climate and the yielding nature of the soil, which produces almost instant-

\* The History of the Hindoo people shows them as of great antiquity, of civilized manners, possessed of arts and science carried to elegance and perfection, and of a language whose structure is both most original and curious.

No specimens of genuine oratory, says Sir W. Jones, can be expected from nations, among whom the form of government precludes even the idea of popular eloquence; but the art of writing in elegant and modulated periods has been cultivated in Asia from the earliest ages: the Védas as well as the Alkoran are written in measured prose, and the compositions of Isocrates are not more highly polished than those of the best Arabian and Persian authors.—Dissertations, Vol. i.

neously,\* invited the attacks of their more hardy neighbours, and rendered Hindostan an easy prey to the foreign invader. Hence, we find them successively conquered by the Persians, Tartars, and Mogols, and it is probable, that like the Chinese, they have seldom had a dynasty of kings from their own countrymen. The most horrible cruelties, and most atrocious insults were offered by the Mahomedans; the race of Hindoos were unable to compete with the wild descendants of the pastor-kings; they fled, and the banner of the crescent floated on the altars of their mild and peaceful religion. At present, the enterprise of European commerce has taken an eminent position in India, and brought

\* Juvenalis, Sat. vi. L. 464.

into that country a change in laws, customs, and government. The ancient religion has given way, and the trial by jury is fast superseding the ancient trial of the Veidamà. The power of an old superstition is on its wane, and the priest of Brahma partially recedes before the minister of Christ. Yet mistaken kindness, or violent bigotry have conduced to render the sign of the cross, at times, as hateful as the red ensign of the prophet. The one religion annihilated the race, the other has tormented it. May the former cease from interfering with the religion of many millions, whose well directed industry will add largely to the wealth of Britain, and who ask in return no more than protection for their persons and places of abode, justice in their temporal concerns, indulgence to the prejudices of

their own religion, and the benefit of those laws which they have been taught to believe sacred, and which alone they can possibly comprehend.”

### CHAPTER III.

Persia—Its early history very obscure—Probable origin of its inhabitants and religion—Zoroaster, his reforms—Translation of the Sadder—Overthrow of the Magi, and decline of the Persian worship under the successors of Mahomet.

#### PERSIA.

THE kingdom of Persia, anciently called Iran, was probably one of the earliest formed on the earth; situated in the close proximity of the primeval nation or tribe, the settlers to the east and west,



diverging from that great centre, Chaldea or Assyria, soon discovered and civilized the magnificent and fertile province of Iran. Its ancient history, however, the history of a learned, warlike, and opulent race exists no longer either to instruct or amuse the present age. Its great Mahabedian dynasty has left no record ; its original language, the oldest in the world, has been dimly discovered as a mixture of Chaldaic and Sanscrit,\* and the relics of its arts and literature have perished either by time or accident. Its first founders, however, were doubtless the tribes passing from Assyria to the eastward, its old language, the name of its old dynasty and the slight notions still left of its ancient religion and sciences, tend to

\* Sir W. Jones's dissertations, vol. 1, p. 187.

strengthen the assertion so boldly made by Sir W. Jones, that a Hindoo tribe were the founders ; a Hindoo priest the lawgiver ; and a Hindoo dynasty the first race of Kings of ancient Persia.

The language was a mixture of Chaldean and Sanscrit, the law-giver was another Menu with his fourteen Avatars, and the word Mahabedian distinctly marks a division of the people into four tribes, religious, civil, military and servile, and were analogous to the four primary tribes of the natives of Hindostan.\*

In its succeeding history, for many centuries, a vague opinion only can be entertained, and even for a more recent date in the Persian annals, we can only con-

\* Dissertations, p. 199, &c. Halbed's Dissertations. Robertson's Disquisitions.

sult the Greek historians, among whom, in treating of the same personages and times in Persia, the greatest discrepancy occurs, and the reign of the great Cyrus, one of its most illustrious monarchs has been considered by many as the fabulous narration of Xenophon, under the title of the exploits of this Persian prince.\*

As it is not here the place to discuss the political history of Persia, nor of its many vicissitudes in victory or defeat, the obscurity that reigns over its kings, and conquests does not affect the consideration of its moral religion, and of the ancient philosophy of the state. The tribe diverging from the Chaldean territories, in settling over the beauteous province

\* Sur la Monarchie des Mèdes. Gibbon's Misc. works, p. 56. 148.

which we are now discussing, brought with them the lovely principle of primeval religion among man, the firm belief that one supreme God made the world by his power, and governed it by his providence, a pious love and adoration of him, a reverence for parents and for aged persons, and an affectionate feeling for the human species, to which was naturally added compassionate kindness towards the lower animals, a system of devotion, a philosophy of worship, a simplicity of religion too sublime and too pure to be of any long duration. Sabaism speedily took its place, and superstition superseded the light of reason and reflection ; to these again succeeded grosser ideas, and a system which required pretended revelations to sanction, and a vast mystery to enable it to sustain

its place. For this purpose, a complicated theology was constructed, its tenets were couched in an obscure phraseology, its very institutes were often locked in a learned and comparatively unknown language, and a special order of men were alone privileged to enlighten and explain the faith of the people according to law and prejudice.

It could only then be owing to particular circumstances, that some nations preserved and followed a purer faith than others ; and perhaps the Persians enjoying a country, and a position so beautiful, and an ancestry so remote, were enabled to preserve the purer creeds of Sabaism, and to acknowledge above all, the higher power of God.

In the obscurity which hangs over all ancient Persia, we are totally incapable

of discovering when, and where, and to what extent Sabaism was carried. We are led to suppose that the religion received from time to time many reforms and purifications, which tended to renew the great tenet of the unity and omnipotence of God.

Zeratusht or Zoroaster, has been considered as the great reformer and religious law-giver of this people, he condensed their precepts into one code, entitled the hundred gates of life or the Sadder, he promulgated the proper ceremonies to be used in worship, the duties of priests, and their privileges, and he corrected and abolished many of the gross abuses of the prevailing faith. But in no way can he be considered as the *founder* of the Persian religion. His precepts are evidently copied from some which had long existed, since they were

universally established and believed, and his aim throughout seems to have been to consolidate and purify the religion, rather than to attempt to give his countrymen any new or original doctrine. In his time,\* the worship of Bel, and the sacrifice of the fire was fully established ; the priesthood was a strong and numerous body, and the temples of the Guebhrs, were well endowed, and splendid in the extreme.

Zeratusht attempted to correct the worship and the sacrifice by substituting once more the principal faith of unity, and reducing the sun and fire to mere symbols ; and it is to the credit of the priesthood, as well as of the Persian peo-

\* Hyde *Religio veterum, Persarum* C. xxiv, which treats of Gushtasp, or King Darius's conversion, a truly oriental story, and very amusing.

ple, that he appears to have very effectually succeeded in this projet.

The time of Zoroaster is stated to have been that of Gushtasp, or Darius Hystaspes, and one of the famous acts of his life, was the conversion of that king, to the reformed religion.\* This epoch, if correct, would fix the reformer's time in the year of the world 3482 and 522, A. C. The precise time cannot be certainly ascertained, but he was the most celebrated high-priest, or prophet of Persia. †

\* In this attempt, the Persian law-giver has far outshone the leader of the Hebrews in charity, and liberality of spirit. See Exodus passim.

† The Sadder or 100 gates of life, were left to the nation, under the following form :—

Porta 1. Asserts the true religion, and that it is contained herein, and mentions the two angels, the bridge of hell, &c. &c., such as we find similar



From the Sadder, as well as from many

accounts of in the Alcoran and Exodus.

Porta 2. Sin not ; for sinners shall hereafter be accursed in hell fire.

Porta 3. General precepts of justice.

Porta 4. Not to despair of God's mercy, exemplified in the story of the sheep.

Porta 5. Give alms ; and a long explanation of the rewards consequent thereon, like Mahomet's fifth paradise.

Porta 6. Do good works, for they have their rewards ; and some trivial and superstitious ceremonies to be observed.

Porta 7. Superstition founded on the principle of duellism.

Porta 8. Obedience to the priesthood and paying the 10th to the same ; and all kinds of rewards held out for doing this.

Porta 9. *Vetita est perpetratio Pedicationis* : and a long and vehement curse on the same. In totâ religione aliquod peccato hoc majus non est prohibitum.

other fragments, we may infer that the

Porta 10. Religious ceremonies about giving alms, and the putting on the girdle, with a description of the powers of the same.

Porta 11. For the preservation and honour of the fire, and the great importance of the same.

Porta 12. Respecting the linen garments of the priests, and the stuff of which, and the manner in which they should be made.

Porta 13. Love thy father and thy mother (not that thy days may be long in the land) but, “ that felicity may be thine *hereafter*.”

Porta 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18. Superstitious ceremonies.

Porta 19. The importance of marrying, and the penalties attached to not doing so. (Nearly the same as in the Alcoran.)

Porta 20. Agriculture, and the part or first fruits to be given to the church.

Porta 21. Charity, feeding the hungry, and giving drink to the thirsty, considered in the same sublime light as in the New Testament.

Personal Magic taught, and the people pro-

Porta 21. The importance of seeing peace before  
 war.

Porta 23. Give alms, and the 140th to the church,  
 that your salvation may be sure.

Porta 26 and 28. Abstain from too much meat, but  
 do not fast.

Porta 28. Baptism ordained, as in the New Testa-  
 ment.

Porta 27. Prayers for penitence.

Porta 25. Good faith with all men, "sive sit cum  
 aliquo in religione nostrâ, sine extra eam."

Porta 29 to 34. Concerning the education of children  
 by the priesthood, learning the catechism and pray-  
 ers of the Church, and of liberality towards all  
 men.

Porta 35 and 36. Giving a portion to dogs, and super-  
 stitious ideas concerning cocks.

Porta 37. The sin of burying a corpse.

Porta 38. About slaying of animals.

Porta 39. About prayers on rising, washing your  
 face, and others equally ridiculous.

fessed a religion as pure as any ever

Porta 40. General precepts of charity, benevolence ; the virtues of truth and upright dealing, abstaining from slander and malice, &c., admirably set forth and communicated upon.

Porta 42 to 43. Concerning the religious feasts of the Persians, the purification of water, and conservation of fire.

Porta 44. Obedience and filial love inculcated.

Porta 45. Respecting the conduct of women during child-birth.

Porta 46. Against calumny and fraud.

Porta 47. Rewards held out for the destruction of noxious animals, such as toads, frogs, scorpions, and leaches.

Porta 48. Against going barefoot.

Porta 49. Confession of sins to priests ordained, and this maxim laid down, "*Quicumque eo momento recitaverit Pitùpht (i. e. Miserere) ejusdem peccata ei remittit Deus Justus, et quamvis infinita habuerit peccata, eum tamen in inferno non collocavit.*"

practised in the East. Their system

Porta 50 to 54. Confirmation at fifteen years of age.

Prayers for parents, great care to be taken in boiling an egg — and the morning lustrations commanded.

Porta 55 to 60. The first strenuously ordains the education of children by one of the college of priests ; the next two are purely religious superstitions. The 58th, comments on the man who is married and has no children, and points out the course he must pursue. The next recommends charity, and the 60th is minute, ludicrous, and offensive to good feeling and to common sense.

Porta 61 to 63. Against killing Hydra (the serpent), the water dogs (beavers), and the office for the dead.

Porta 64. About dressing out the dead, and the garments for the same.

Porta 65. Obedience to husbands.

Porta 66. Curses on apostacy.

Porta 67 and 68. Against telling lies, and exercising on all occasions truth, comparing the latter to the

seems to have consisted in the Unity and

bright sun, for "Verily," saith the Lord to Zeratusht, "he that speaketh truth is brighter than the burning sun, but whosoever lieth goeth straight to hell."

Porta 69. Against fornication, and showing particularly the sad effects of such conduct to society in general, as also adultery.

Porta 70. Thou shalt not steal.

Porta 71. A long and philosophical precept enjoining benevolence, veracity, and liberality with the people of God, and these two commandments.

1. Do not invade the property of others, for Heaven hath in store more than all this world can afford, for here as five days are, so there is eternity.
2. Do unto others as you would they should do unto you, and live in charity with all men.

Porta 72 and 73. Religious ordinances.

Porta 74. Against concubinage.

Porta 75 to 80. All religious ceremonies and ordinances.

## Omnipotence of the Divinity, and that

Porta 81 to 84. Religious ordinances respecting impurities in animals; giving bread to the sinner, and morning lustrations.

Porta 85. To the husband, requiring him to be very cautious in not defiling the water.

Porta 86 and 87. Respecting women in child-birth, or in cases of abortion.

Porta 88. After a death, the family not to eat flesh.

Porta 89. Commending liberality.

Porta 90. On the wonderful merits of repeating certain prayers (Ashim) at rising, eating, and sleeping.

Porta 91. Zeratusht asserts his divine mission. " And the Lord God said unto Zeratusht Espintâman. In the whole world is there no one more pleasing to my sight than thou; for thy sake I created the world, and for all ages thou art my chosen; I created thee between the beginning and the end, from the beginning Keimóvâs unto the age are 3000 years, and from the age to the resurrection

this was the true, primitive, and ortho-

are 3000 more. I created thee in the middle, because the middle is better than either the beginning or the end. As the heart is in the middle, so art thou to me."

Porta 92 and 93. Respecting purification<sup>a</sup> and preserving the fire.

Porta 94. Commands the celebration of the six Gháhábár (i. e. the period in which God made all things) which are divided thus :—1. Created he the heavens in forty-five days. 2nd. In sixty days he created the waters and the sea. 3d. The earth in seventy-five days. 4th. The trees and shrubs in thirty days. 5th. The animals in eighty days. 6th. Man in seventy-five days. Thus making three hundred and sixty five days for the time of the creation. Then follows an eastern tale about how, in feasting, the devil came into King Gêmsid's kitchen and asked the cook for food, and how he dressed oxen and sheep, and horses even, and yet nothing would satisfy him, and how Gêmsid prayed to God, and



dox sect.      The Persian also acknow-

God sent his angel, Behman or smoke, to cook the devil a *red* cow in old vinegar, and added garlick and rue, at which the devil was so frightened that he fled, &c.!!

Porta 95. Gratitude for benefits received.

Porta 96. Salutation to the sun commanded.

Porta 97. *Not* to weep for the dead.

Porta 98 and 99. About learning the litany and other canonical regulations.

Porta 100. The curse against any priest who shall dare to explain to any person, whatsoever, the meaning of these Scriptures or any of the mysteries connected with the religion of Zoroaster.(a)

(a) This last commandment may be found in the books of the Egyptians, Hindoos, Jews, Greeks, and Romans, and in the Catholic church of the west, and it would appear that in all nations and times, as well ancient as modern, this great principle and canon has

ledged the principle of Duellism, that is to say, that God created two spirits, the one the Agens boni, whom they called Ormurd, the other the Agens mali, whom they denominated Ahrèman, and whom to show their utter detestation of him, they always wrote thus : *uēwəreŋv*. As to the divinity, himself, they said “ Deus est in abstracto, bonitas ipsa et purissima, essentia ab omni vel boni vel mali impressione ac passione prorsus exempta

been strenuously inculcated, and while it was rigidly obeyed, no reform could take place, no purifyer could rise up.

Thus ends the *centum portæ*, or hundred gates of the life of Sadder, a book like all others of the same nature, in which are found many good precepts, some bad superstitious ordinances, pure and audacious inventions, and the most ludicrous pretentions to divine origin.

et immunis.” A sublime and pure creed, copied, or rather inherited, from the Indians,\* and which they had introduced in the earliest times. At a later period, the Persians became Sabaists, and, if we believe Herodotus, much worse.†

\* In this the Hindoos perfectly coincided, for Brahma the Essentia, created the two principles Vishnoo and Seeva, and so, in fact, it will be found in the Egyptian records, and in the Jewish scriptures, excepting that these last have made the Essentia contending with his creature, and thus have the appearance of denying the omnipotence of divinity.

† Herodotus in Clio, says the Persians, had at one time established a temple to Venus, where “se feminæ prostituebant,” and which was continued to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, who was killed in the temple of Venus, 180 years, A. C. vide Livii O. L. 54 C. 59.—Strabo C. 16.—Hyde religio Vet. Pers. C. 3.

The religion purified under Zoroaster, exhibited, again, the adoration of one God alone, and paid its salutations to the sun and fire as secondary, and as the great visible symbols of his power and splendour; and this, while showing the concordance which exists between the Persian and the Indian religions, may lead to the inference, that their common religion was Chaldean, the origin and fountain of all the eastern nations.

Dr. Hyde seems to think the Persians owe their religion to Shem and Elam, and that it had existed ever since the flood. That Zoroaster lived about the time of the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, from which people the maji first learnt the use of fire in the temples, but he is decidedly of opinion that the Per-

sians never worshipped the fire, but merely used it as the most splendid and purest element in their ceremonies ; there are two epochs in the Persian church which should be noted.

First, that period during which they retained their religion pure and primitive. Secondly, when they first mixed Sabaism with their worship. “ *Interpolatio sabaitica prima,*” and which according to Hyde,\* Abraham had with great zeal, tried to eradicate. After his time, the Persians again relapsed, “ *Secunda interpolatio,*” and even became Image worshippers, partly from seeing so many

\* The work of Dr. Hyde opens with a long account of the birth, parentage, and exploits of Abraham, vide C. 2.

in the Grecian temples which they conquered. From this state Zoroastes laboured to raise them again to their purity and simplicity.

Thus was the Persian religion kept pure, and from salutary reforms, from time to time has descended for unnumbered ages, to the present day.\*

\* In his 31st. chapter, Hyde allows the high purity of the Persian creed, and declares them to have been, in his opinion, in high favour with God, because they alone with the Jews preserved the true faith ; and then anxious to prove the truth of Isaiah's prophecies on Cyrus, and somewhat unable to account for this love of God for the Persians, says "*quamvis Persæ multas nugas cum dei cultu miscuerint, deus tamen connivebat propter grande opus quod à Cyropersarum rege præstandum decreverat!*"—C. 31. p. 382. He here also mentions that the first Magi

I shall not enter into the glorious and exciting tales of Herodotus or Xenophon. They are covered with much doubt, and critics have not been wanting to defend and assail these historians, and to throw the political history of Persia into worse confusion ; yet I cannot but remark that in the days of Xerxes or Ardishir, the Magi seem to have lost their dignity and changed their occupation.

They seem to have been reduced, in this age, to mere ordinary sooth-sayers and astrologers, who followed the splendid camp of that monarch, and were

eat no kind of flesh, proving that they were believers in the Indian creed of the Metempsychosis.  
(p. 375.)

always ready to predict his good fortune and the success of his army.\*

After the conquest of Persia by the Arabians, and the establishment of Maho-

\* Herodotus, in his 7th. book, describing the march of Xerxes from Lydia to Thermopylæ, mentions this fact and states also that Xerxes scourged the Hellespont. This I cannot believe, for many reasons, and principally because it was quite contrary to the religious opinions of the Persians, as it would have been insulting one of the elements or powers of nature, (*vide Hyde, Rel. Vet. Pers.; and Robertson's Disquisition on India.*)

One may also doubt the number which Herodotus states as the army under Xerxes, namely, five million and a half; no doubt, however, it was very extraordinary. It was in the interest of both parties to augment the number, as much as possible, of Xerxes before the war, and of the Grecians while he was retracing his steps.



met's religion, many of the natives\* embraced that new code, while many, more devoted to their ancient faith, fled into the plains and recesses of more tolerant India ; and even to this day, the descendants of Zoroaster, and the Magi may still be met with on the banks of the Ganges or the shores of Guzzerat, clad in white to suit the prejudices of that country ; but excepting in their garments, which rightly should be of flame colour, the exact representatives of their dignified ancestors.

\* Vide passim for the general history of this people, Herodotus, Ctesius, Strabo, Xenophon and Cyropedia, Diogenes, Laertius, Herbelot, Dict. Oriental, Pocock's Abulpharagius, and last, though not least, Gibbon's critical remarks in his *Monarchie des Mèdes*.

## CHAPTER IV.

### EGYPT.

*Analogy between the various religions of antiquity—*  
One origin—The hypotheses of Mr. Bryant regarding Noah considered—The ancient Egyptians—The voyages of the Phenicians under Nechos, and the disquisitions of Gibbon, Bruce, and Dr Doig considered—The Ptolomies—Prosperity and decline of Egypt—Roman province under Augustus—Submits to Mohammedans, and afterwards to the Turks.

FROM earliest times 'all men have

agreed in acknowledging the existence of a superior power, but when asked his nature or his attributes, have been always found to differ in their opinion or tenets. The infirmities of a finite comprehension compelled mankind to adopt a likeness of the divinity, and as nothing superior to the human race had been visible to man, so in the weakness of his intellect, he imagined God after his own image.

But what idea can be more contemptible or ridiculous than to suppose, like Homer,\* the supreme God with a head of auburn locks, and black eyebrows, and that he cannot shake his head without making the heavens tremble. We may observe also how the image of the

\* Vide Platonis dissertatio de natura Deorum, for the remarks of Maximus of Tyre.

Godhead has been always fashioned according to the genius and character of each different people ; and as no nation has ever been found without some idea of worship, so is it equally true that no two nations have ever possessed the same conceptions of God, or of the worship which such power was to receive. All have agreed but in this, that their particular Deity was the first, the greatest, and the best of all, and indeed without this notion, each system of religion must have fallen to the ground.

Thus, we find that the warlike had their Mars ; the civilised, their Adonis, their Isis, and their Diana ; the voluptuous selected Venus ; and the literary paid their court to Minerva and Apollo.\*

\* Probably the earliest defined notions of religion

The Chaldeans, as the earliest tribes, must have first possessed notions of the science of astronomy, and it is not im-

may have been produced by a long and attentive observation of the powers of nature; nor can we conceive indeed anything more attractive than the face of the heavens, more suitable for such a purpose. In later times these observations produced astronomy, which must be allowed to be a science which has done more to annihilate the principle of atheism, than any other moral cause known to mankind. In viewing the wide and splendid ether filled with bright stars and wondrous comets, in beholding the sun and moon, in reflecting on their size, uses, and wondrous evolutions, and more than all on their eternal regularity (*a*) and power, the heart must be callous, which does not experience the most sublime emotions, and narrow the mind which does not perceive and acknowledge the unity, the beauty and the omnipotence of God.

(*a*) Platonis, Dial. XI. Cicero de natura Deo.

probable that the temple of Belus served for the contemplation and observations of the heavenly bodies. The Chinese, (as some will have it from Noah) also very early received ideas of the same kind, though they appear to have been most superstitious and absurd in their astronomical observations.\*

The Phenicians knew and made great use of their scientific discoveries. Egypt was famous for them in later times, and Moses seems even to have had some glimmerings, obtained probably from these latter ; the ancient Persians were acquainted with astronomy to a great extent, as Pythagoras has informed the Greeks.†

\* Juvenal, De Guignes Mém. de la Chine, vol. 1. and 2.

† That the universe was composed of four elements

Of the various traditions handed down from all time, and found universally among ancient nations, that of a deluge holds a most remarkable place. It is proved by a great many works of antiquity, that the idea of a deluge, and of an ark or ship in which one man and his family were saved, was extremely general.\*

From this fact, Mr. Bryant has inferred

and had the sun in the centre, that the earth was round and had antipodes, that the stars were worlds, and were inhabited, that the milky way is from the number of stars, and that Venus is the evening and the morning star. Vide Bayle, Article Pythagore and *Origine des Découvertes*, 7.

\* Abydemi, *historia*. Berosi *Chron*. Manethon's fragment, Moses, Genesis, Saconiathon in Eusebio. Plutarch in *Iside and Osiride*, Plato in *Atalante*, Pausanias, Ovidii *Metamorph*.

the following most improbable conclusion: that the primeval religion was Noachism and not Solicolism, that is, the veneration and worship of Noah prior to that of the sun. The proofs of the contrary seem however to be as numerous as they are distinct, and tend to destroy his assertion.

Mr. Bryant lays down, in support of his theory, the following arguments.

First, he supposes Noah to have been the God or Jupiter, the Ζεύς or Διός of the whole Gentile world. Second, that in the east he continued to be called Naus or Νᾱς, Nauchus, or Inachus.

In Egypt he was called Bacchus from Chus,\* the grandson of Noah or Nusos

\* Mr. Byrant also thinks that the Cushites peopled most of the eastern settlements.



from Nausus, hence *Δαίμων*, and that afterwards he was called Osiris and Sesostris. In Phenicia, Phutruth, Cronos, and Zeus. In Chaldea, Zuth and Xixothros. In Armenia and Persia, Xuth and Zeus; Zeus in Greece, and Jupiter in Rome. In Scandinavia, Thor. Further he remarks the exact analogy which exists between the Mosaic and Egyptian observances, such as that Osiris was shut up in a box, (i. e. Noah in the ark,) that the tears of Isis were allegorically meant for the deluge, that Theba or Thebes was the name of the ark, and that in this city Sesostris dedicated to Osiris a ship two and eighty cubits long, that not only in Egypt, but in Phenicia, Syria, Armenia, and Greece, the ark was ever visible under the names of ships, such as the following *Θεοὶ ναυιλλόντες*, and the sun

in the figure of a man sailing on a float,\* and that the Egyptians did not represent the sun and moon in chariots, but wafted about on floats.†

Also, Baris was in Egypt, the ship or navicular shrine carried about in the festivals of Isis, and again Baris was (according to Nicolaus of Damascus,) the name of the mountain in Armenia on which the ark rested. In Smyrna, says Aristides, upon the Dionysia, a ship used to be carried in procession, the same custom at Eleusis and Olympia; and to conclude, both ships and temples received their names from thence, *ναος*, and Nautai, navis, and our word naval; of

\* Vide Porphyry.

† Plutarch in Iside.

course, Dionysius, Deucalion, Ogyges, Perseus, &c. &c., were all the same person.

Mr. Bryant then mentions the Apamean medal, and then goes on to the Indians. Here we find Buddà or Budó.\* This is the same as Boutos of Egypt, Battus of Cyrene, and Boëthus of Greece; and the account given of Typhon agrees with this personage, as regards the interruption from his mother's side. In China, the deity upon the waters in a lotus was a favourite emblem from the West. The insignia of the dragon was from the same quarter. The Cuthites worshipped *Cham the Sun*, hence every thing in that part of the world, splendid

\* *Mélanges Asiatiques*, vol. i, c. 14. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 10.

or magnificent, is compounded of that word.

Thus, this ingenious and learned man proves the universality of that tradition regarding the deluge ; but his hypothesis, that Noah was the founder of all religions, and that he is the being worshipped under the various names found among all the nations of antiquity, does not appear supported, either by probability, or by the evidence of history. On the contrary, the reader of ancient history, will, in all likelihood, reduce his conclusion, that the sun and the solar system were the objects of worship of the primeval ages, after the pure spirit of religion had become impaired.

It is not proved that Nê, *was ever* the supreme deity, in either Chaldea, Phenicia, or Egypt, or Persia. The names,

attributes, and emblems of worship in all these countries, apply exclusively to the sun; Belus, or Bel, Baal, Osiris, Dionusos, Di, or Dis, Phœbus, all are special names which indicate his heat, lustre, or magnificence.

Temples and towns were also named after him ; such as Babylon, Sais, Heliopolis, Diospolis, Ur, Shur, Theba or Phoibos, and many others.\* Moses, who was bred up amongst the Egyptians, does not give any notion that Noah was the subject of all these appellations, nor does Herodotus make the least mention of it.†

It may, therefore, be allowed that the Deluge was a general tradition, which

\* All these are epithets for light or lustre.

† Herodotus does not even mention the deluge.

the nations of the world adopted, and of which they preserved symbolic representations in their religious ceremonies. The analogy, however, which subsisted in the religious forms of worship, and in the very names of the divinities which composed the mythology of the old world, is very great, and is another proof of one common origin to all.\*

\* We find the sun worshipped universally, under the following denominations :—

|                   |                  |
|-------------------|------------------|
| In Assyria,       | Bel.             |
| Persia,           | Bel or Belus.    |
| India,            | Vishnoo.         |
| Phenicia,         | Adon or Baäl.    |
| Egypt,            | Osiris.          |
| Greeks,           | Belos vel Ηλιος. |
| Latins,           | Belus vel Sol.   |
| Northern nations, | Sol.             |

The moon, as the female or softer light, was worshipped under the following attributes :—

In the creation of the world, the wars

|           |             |
|-----------|-------------|
| Egypt,    | Isis.       |
| Phenicia, | Phtha.      |
| Sicily,   | Proserpine. |
| Crete,    | Diana.      |
| Rome,     | Bellona.    |
| Eleusis,  | Ceres.      |
| Cyprus,   | Venus.      |
| Phrygia,  | Cybele.     |
| Athens,   | Minerva.    |
| Ephesus,  | Diana.      |

She was the sister to Apollo or Phœbus, the appellation of the sun, and thus we see the various forms of worship all springing, as it were, from one common stock or root, for these various names are but the characteristics of each nation, while in all they seem to have followed the adoration of the Indian religion, in worshipping the creative and creating powers of the universe.

Again, in Duallism the different nations have much agreed ; thus we find—

Among the Hindoos,      Vishnoo.      Seeva.

of the angels, the fall of Satan, and that of man, we perceive a faint outline among all the people. It has already been observed, how great a resemblance exists in all the accounts of those other olden traditions of the flood, and of the salvation of one man and woman in an ark or float ; the medal found at Apamea confirms this to a very great extent. That this medal related to Deucalion's, and not to Noah's flood, to Ovid's, and not Moses' narration, has been most ably and satisfactorily contended for by Mr. Barrington,\* "for,"

|             |         |          |
|-------------|---------|----------|
| Phenicians, | Adon.   | Saturn.  |
| Egyptians,  | Osiris. | Typhon.  |
| Persians,   | Ormuzd. | Ahraman. |

and with their peculiarity Jehovah. Satan, among the Jewish tribes.

\* *Archæologia*, vol. iv. French Acad. des Bl. Ls.



says he, "all is thus explained; the smallness of the vessel, the cap on the man's head, the veil on his wife, and the attitude of the upraised hands, all prove it to be Deucalion and Pyrrha."\* But what then was ΝΩΕ? the dual of Εγω, which again, corresponds with Ovid's story. The deluge of Noah was, probably partial, for if universal, and covering the whole globe, why should Mount Ararat have appeared as the first dry land? by no means the highest point in the East.†

tome xxiii, p. 129. For a refutation of the analysis of Mr. Bryant, the reader is referred to Richardson's acute, and most diverting treatise, entitled "Answer to an Apology by J. Bryant," p. 450 to 454, &c. appended to his valuable and eloquent "Dissertation." Oxford, 1778.

\* Ovidii, *Metamorph.*, lib. 1.

† The highest land in Asia would be found on the

That the Eleusinian mysteries much resembled, and were partly derived from Egyptian ceremonies seems also highly probable. Herodotus tells us that the Attic Ceres was Isis, and, if we consider some of the details of these Grecian mysteries, this opinion seems confirmed ; for we find, that at the conclusion of each festival, the high-priest pronounced the ineffable words, Koyx, Om ; Par., which are almost pure Sanscrit, and are used to this day by the Brahmins, at the conclusion of the Indian ritual, being, in Sanscrit, thus, Canschà, signifying the object of our most ardent wishes ; om is the famous monosyllable used at the beginning and end of prayers, as Amen, and Pachsa means, viz : change, place,

north of the rivers Indus and Ganges, and near the valley of Thibet.

fortune, and was used to denote silence.\*

The western nations, and more especially the Greeks and Romans, took their religious customs and ceremonies, and many of their superstitions from the Egyptians, who were the depositaries of arts and sciences, as they were, later on, the purveyors of the elegancies and luxuries of civilized life, and however much the Romans may have despised and hated them,† nevertheless, they had copied their customs and manners, and, in many in-

\* Essay on the Mysteries of the Eleusinian Ceres, by Ouvaroff, s. 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6. “Ommè signifie, en Arabe, le principe et l'origine de toutes les choses. Omni signifie Mère.” D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orientale, vol. ii, p. 649 and 650.

† Juvenal, Sat. xv.

stances, followed the worship of Egypt under a different name.

The inhabitants of Egypt were possessors of a small, but most fertile, country,\* and their antiquity recedes before the search, till it is utterly lost in the darkness of unknown and unrecorded ages.

The earliest commencement of Egyptian story brings to view a nation well versed in astronomy, agriculture, and writing ; in the occupation of the most magnificent cities, and with a religion which was maintained in a style of splendour unknown in modern days. Its priesthood possessed the learning and the power of the land. From this bod

\* Occasioned by the inundation of the Nile, which begins in the month of June, and lasts three months. *Antiquités de l'Égypte*, vol. i, p. 25.

the judges and high officers were selected, and their advice and decree governed alike the monarch and the people.

The temples of the deity were numerous throughout the kingdom ; at Sais, Heliopolis, and Thebes, the sculpture and riches of these places of worship were displayed in their greatest splendour ; at the first named city, was the temple with that celebrated inscription, which denoted the attributes of the deity, and which was alike consonant to truth and nature, " I am that which was, and is, and ever shall be, and no one yet has lifted the veil which covers me."

The tenets of all the old religions, the real worship of the cause of all existence, were here concealed under the mysteries and forms of public ritual and superstition, and

while the priests maintained among themselves the essence of their original precepts and belief, they shadowed it forth to the people under a hundred different guises, and keeping the key of language in their possession easily governed one of the most superstitious races that ever seem to have existed. The fertility of the soil in Egypt, and the ease with which all commodities grew to hand, rendered external commerce at first unnecessary to the inhabitant, while all maritime expeditions were repugnant to his religious feelings. Yet the earliest monarchs, of whose history nothing but fable is left us, and whose reigns are covered with a mist, now for ever impervious, such as Sesostris, Osiris, Menes, Busiris the supposed founder of Thebes,

and others are reported to have led the armies of their country to frequent enterprise, in which the valour of the Egyptian soldiers was rewarded with rich booty, and the ambition of the monarch by an extension of territory.

Psammitichus embellished the kingdom, and improved its agricultural knowledge, and his son Nechos gave orders for that celebrated voyage by the Phenician mariners, who circumnavigated Africa in three years.

Herodotus relates in great detail these circumstances, and the assertion of the deed seemed to have met with no opposition or doubt in his time. Since then learned dissertations\* have been written

\* Gibbon's Dissertation on the meridional line, &c.  
Misc. works, vol 5, p. 170.]

questioning the authenticity of this evidence of the skill and enterprise of the Tyrian mariner, as well as the voyages to Ophir and Tarshish, which the same nation executed by the orders of the King of the Hebrews, Solomon.\*

\* Dissertation on Ophir and Tarshish by Dr. Doig,  
1 vol.

The Nechite expedition has been argued by Gibbon, and he gives it as his opinion, that they never did perform the circumnavigation of Africa; and says "Since the modern discoveries of the Portuguese, we know the *possibility* and suppose the *reality* of an ancient circumnavigation," &c., and disregarding the minute and exact details of Herodotus, or rather attributing them to the superior skill and science and fore-thought of the Egyptian priests, "that a lucky guess might have usurped the honours of actual discovery.(a) The honour in the other tradition has been disputed by Mr. Bruce in his disserta-

(a) Gibbon ut sup. p. 183.



But, whatever was his success in this

tion, and with some probability ; but Dr. Doig (*a*) places Tarshish on the *coast of Spain*, and Ophir on the *western* coast of Africa, and he argues nearly thus : It is well known that Moses gave to each country the name of the original settler in it, and which was afterwards continued. Thus Havilah was Mesopotamia, and Tarshish was the son of Havilah, probably Tarshish settled somewhere near Havalah, say in Cilicia, hence Tarsus (*b*). Now Tarshish's descendants were known to have gone far *westward*, (*c*) they had always been esteemed navigators, and had been much mixed up with the Tyrians and Phenicians. They, the descendants, may be supposed to have peopled Spain. The commodities mentioned as imported from Tarshish, may prove it to have been placed in this country, namely, silver, iron, and tin (*d*).

(*a*) Doig's Dissertation.

(*b*) Vide Psalms 48. S. 7. 72. S. 10.

(*c*) Isaiah 22 C. Ezekiel 27 C. S. 12. and Genesis C. II. S. 26.

(*d*) Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Polybius, Plinii, Hist. Nat. and Jeremiah.

case, Nechos was less fortunate in the

Moreover, by looking at the ancient division of Spain, we obtain another argument in favour of this supposition. Bœtis, Lusitania, and Tarraconensis, were the three divisions. Bœtis is the modern Andalusia, and stretched from the fretum Herculis to the Guadalquivir. The river Bœtis divides this district, and was called Tartessus, probably from Tarshish, thence Tarseshos and Tartessos; thus Dr. Doig supposes that the ships went up from the Syrian coast to Spain, through the straits to Tarshish, and hence, south-west, to Ophir; and here he draws a conclusion, or rather makes an assertion, of a most extraordinary nature, that afterwards they doubled the Cape, and came up the Arabian into the Elanitic gulph, *thus circumnavigating Africa!*

To prove this, he observes that Solomon's sailors were Phenicians, and that the voyage took three years; that 200 years afterwards the Phenicians undertook to circumnavigate Africa, and did so, taking, also, three years, as narrated by Herodotus.

Now, it is to be remarked, that Herodotus relates

result of a more splendid and more difficult undertaking, that of the great canal, by which he intended to have joined the Nile to the Arabian sea, and where the failure of his project was accompanied by the loss of 120,000 of his subjects, who were employed at its construction.

this as a wondrous, and almost, to him,(a) incredible fact; and that, had it been so constantly and ably performed as Dr. Doig supposes, the Greek historian would not have mentioned it in the manner which he has done, but stated it as a thing which had been done before, and have possibly stated the time and occasions; for if the Phenicians had done it so often under Solomon, there was nothing very extraordinary in what the Nechite Phenicians are said to have performed.

(a) Particularly, that where the Phenicians declared they perceived the sun on their right hand, which is, however, one of the strongest proofs of their voyage.

This monarch conquered Jerusalem, and assigned its sceptre to Joachim, exacting from him an annual tribute. In the decline of his life, fortune abandoned him, and the King of Babylon deprived him of this, as well as of many others of his conquests. In the 600th year before Christ he died, and was succeeded by his son Psammis.

120 years from this time, the Persian King Cambyses overthrew the Egyptian monarchy by a single battle, and established the Persian government throughout the kingdom. His people remained possessors of Egypt till the all-conquering arms of Alexander the Great overthrew the monarchy of Persia, and subjected Egypt to his dominion. By his command the city of Alexandria was founded ; destined

to be the emporium of commerce, and the seat of learning and arts for many centuries.

The race of the Ptolomies succeeded to the government of Egypt, and, under Lagus, or Soter, the first of that race, many useful and splendid works were undertaken and accomplished. The town of Alexandria was beautified, and enriched with vast numbers of specimens of arts and luxury. At the entrance of the harbour he constructed a tower of white marble, on which were lighted nightly fires to indicate to the sailor his position and danger. In the famous library of Alexandria he collected, at vast expense, 400,000 volumes, and, in another range of apartments, he collected 300,000 volumes. The first of these splendid

collections perished by accident, and the second, on or before the taking of the city by Amrou.\* In the reign of this king, the whole prosperity of Egypt was revived, and the people restored to self-respect, union, and dignity, enjoyed once more the blessings of peace and liberty. Agriculture was improved, commerce augmented, enterprise, in every branch of art and industry, was encouraged, and Ptolomy Soter left to his son Philadelphus, one of the most opulent, industrious, and flourishing kingdoms in existence.

Ptolomy Philadelphus followed in the footsteps of his father, and cultivated peace with his neighbours, and the arts

\* General of Omar Ben Alchitaf, Caliph of Medina. This event is *said* to have happened, A. D. 641—2.

and luxuries of peace in his own kingdom. He sent presents to Jerusalem, and obtained, in return, a copy of the Books of Moses. The Septuagint version was the result of this acquisition. Manethon, Theocritus, Hipparchus, and others, men at that time of great literary fame, were visitors, and honoured visitors, at his court, and Philadelphus possessed the happy art of keeping on the best terms with the Roman republic, without sacrificing his dignity or proper station.

The dynasty of the Ptolomies lasted till the fall of the Roman republic, but the power of its monarchs had long been weakened by their own vices and misfortunes, and the pride and power of the people was gradually and surely decaying. The vices, and the pomp of the last

queen of Egypt, Cleopatra, equally the last of her renowned race, placed the Egyptians in the hands of Augustus Cæsar, and, at her death, ended the last of the dynasty of the Ptolomies, and the nominal independence, even, of Egypt. From that period it became a Roman province, and continued subject to the Emperors of Constantinople, for centuries.

In the year Anno Dom. 642, the Arab chieftain seized the kingdom of Egypt and the city of Alexandria, in the name, and by the authority of Omar, the Caliph of the Prophet. In 200 years afterwards, it was made the theatre of various tumults and rebellions, caused by the different governors or Emirs sent from Bagdad. In an after time, it owned the



superb Saladin as Vizier ; and, in the 13th century, the race of the Mameluke Sultans held the reins of government in Alexandria. In 1517, the Sultan of Constantinople took possession of Egypt, and it has, ever since, acknowledged the commander of the Turks as its sovereign.

In all times, and under every government, it has excited attention and care, and has been the depository of the most curious relics of ancient ages. It was, for centuries, the storehouse of nations, the mart of a gigantic commerce, and the residence of a learned, luxurious, and opulent people.

Its religious superstitions, and its political constitution were firmly established before any known era is recorded by his-

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tory; and its pretensions to be ranked among the very earliest settlements of a polished tribe, and of an augmenting civilization, appear to be borne out by proofs of unquestioned veracity.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE HEBREWS.

Probable origin of the Hebrews unknown—Their wanderings under Moses—His great influence—His views ably supported by Joshua—Successes of the Hebrews in Palestine—Building of Jerusalem—Death of Saul—Accession of David—Remarks on the concluding history.

“ In the reign of Timæus, king of the Egyptians, it came to pass that the vengeance of heaven took effect upon this people. For a mighty crowd, called

Hicksi or shepherd kings, came from the east, and they waged war, and overthrew the Egyptians, and their cruelty was very great. They burnt the cities, and overthrew the temples of the living God ; they put the men to the sword, and carried away into captivity the women and children. For two hundred and fifty-nine years did they rule Egypt. And after that time, it came to pass, that Thethmosis, the king of upper Egypt,\* came down with a great army to deliver the people, and he fought the shepherd kings, and overthrew their power and compelled them to flee ; and they journied across the desert, to Syria ; and because they were afraid of the Assy-

\* The kingdom of Ethiopians who were descended from the Cushites or Cuthites. See Bryant's mythology. Josephus' Ant. Jud. Lib. i.

rians, they entered the land of Judea, and there they built the temple of their God, and the city of Jerusalem. And their number was two hundred and twenty-four thousand men, women, and children.”\*

The uncertain and confused traditions which help the present age darkly to imagine the chronology, position, and histories of the great nations of the east, leave it no means whereby any proof can be brought forward, to show the probable origin of minor tribes, who sprung, as it were, from secondary causes, and took their rise from a re-emigration.

Few, indeed, of these lesser tribes are of any importance, but that of the Hebrew, or as they were called in later times, Ju-

\* Extract from Manethon, quoted in Euseb. Prep. Evangel.

deans, from that land where they finally settled, demands our attention, on account of the celebrity which this people have enjoyed, owing to their singular belief, laws, and government, and more than all, to the circumstance of the country having given birth to the founder of Christianity—a system which has changed the manners, customs and laws of half of the globe.

Over the vast deserts which separate Egypt from the coast of Persia, numerous savage tribes wandered from spot to spot, and the life of the Bedouin Arab at this day, presents a faithful continuation of that of his remote ancestry, the descendants of Hebur and the Pastor kings. Of these, the tribe of the Jews seem early to have visited and harassed the civilised

and luxurious Egyptians, till as it would appear (by the extract already cited in this chapter,) by a vast effort and by foreign assistance from the Ethiops, they succeeded in driving the Hebrews out of the kingdom, and thus delivered themselves from their marauding dispositions. From the testimony of their own records, we find this people led on by skilful and brave warriors and chiefs of the names of Moses, Aaron, and Joshua, and at last discover them settled in the inland tract extending from Damascus to Idumea, north and south, and from the kingdom of Edom to Phenicia, east and west ; and to which country have been given the names of Judea and Palestine. The Jews, like their ancestors, and in common with all the other nations of the

east, professed the omnipotence and unity of God ; but long slavery and corrupted ignorance, had entirely banished this tenet from among them ; and at the period when they fled before the armies of the Egyptian king, into the wide deserts of their original settlements, they appear to have been the most ardent followers of idolatrous worship, of whom history has left us a record.\* It seems to have been the project of their celebrated chieftain Moses, to lead them to some spot, where they might become a settled, and, perhaps, a mighty people ; and over whom he and his descendants might rule. For this purpose he chose the land of

\* See the various instances cited in Exodus, and the after books of the old Testament and Josephus, Lib. 3 and 4.



Palestine, where the Arabian desert terminates, at the north, for their future habitation, and he excited their ardour, and inflamed their courage by every means, both human and divine. By laying before them the creation of the world, the beautiful and truly oriental allegory of their first parents, and of the fall of man, he engaged their serious attention, and while he unfolded to them the cause of that fall, and the loss of the golden age on earth, his audience might have sighed to think, no human efforts could restore it.\* But Moses proceeded

\* It seems every tribe, when migrating from the original seat, were supposed to proceed whither God led them. Vide Josephus Antiq. Jud. Lib. 1, c. v. See also, the amusing allegory on the creation. d'Herbelot, Bibl. Or. Art. Adam. Adama is in Arabian and

to develope the grand scheme he had in view; he told them that he was the chosen leader, and themselves the elect people of the one God; that to them had been adjudged, above all the people of the earth, the preference by that God, of confiding to them the sacred charge of preserving his religion, that they were taken under his special protection, and that the land, he (Moses) pointed out, was the land assigned them by his decree. There they were to rest from trials and risks, from poverty and labour, and to enjoy in peace, the riches of a land "flowing with milk and honey." The

other Eastern tongues *Agricolis*, Vide *Silv. de Sacy. Dict. Arab. Schulten's Treatise*. For the origin of the Hebrews from Heber. See *Josephus, Antiq. Lib. 1, c. vi, S. 5.*

Jews believed the words of their leader, and for years fought their way through dangers and privations, till at his death, a more warlike and a more fortunate general, Joshua, led them from the desert where they had so long lingered, and where they had time to form their laws and religion, to the conquest of the petty tribes, which it was necessary to overcome before the promised land could be obtained. Several desperate struggles took place in which the Hebrews generally came off victorious ; and as Joshua was in their eyes invested with miraculous power and under the divine protection, and as he was doubtless of great personal courage, he was able in victory to carry all advantages to the utmost, and in defeat, to reanimate the spirit and to rally the firmness of the Jewish soldier,

to those efforts which were necessary to achieve the grand object. This, added to several terrible examples, among which the most striking was the destruction of Jericho, where every human being of that town was slaughtered, of every age and of either sex, with the bright exception of a public courtesan, brought terror and defeat to many of the small tribes. These fled before Joshua,\* to join, perhaps, in the deserts, the original stock, perhaps to add themselves to some growing settlement, such as the Ishmaelites, who were beginning to dwell and civilize in the

\* According to a monument or monuments in Africa and Syria, with these words engraved, " We flee before the face of Josuah the Robber, the son of Nun." Procopius de Bell. Goth.

western and southern extremities of the great desert. The Jews successively fought and conquered the Philistines, the Amalakites and the Ammonites, and finally possessed themselves of the land of Judea and the city of Salem, where they established the residence of their priesthood, and the capital of their kingdom. By this time, the death of their first king, Saul, had occurred, and the celebrated David, the great grandson of Booz and Ruth, had ascended the throne of Jerusalem.\*

This was about one thousand years

\* The manners of the Orientals of this period must have been extraordinary. The *modesty* of Ruth and the *surprise* of Booz are concisely described in Segur, Hist. Anc. Vol. iii, p. 260.

before the birth of Christ, but owing to that great event, the Hebrew history, (unlike all others) has assumed a peculiar character, and has fixed the deep attention of succeeding ages, and thus ceases to be ancient long before the modern period. The historian who pursues it to the end will have to narrate much that is sublime, and much that is worthy of notice among this people, and he will detail how, at least, the illustrious founder of Christianity died a victim to the power of a long established Theocracy, a martyr to the base corruption and utter degeneracy of the country in which he lived. But his religion took a firm root, and Jerusalem, the hated and despised city sunk beneath the Roman arms ;\* its

\* Josephus, Wars, Book 6, c. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10, and Book 7, c. 1.

streets were watered with blood, its ashes were given to the winds, its inhabitants dispersed for ever ; while the Jewish nation is chiefly remembered for the virtues and the fate of Jesus, and for the sublimity of the Christian Doctrine.

# THE ARABS IN SPAIN.

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## CHAPTER I.

Arabia—Its Geographical Position—The Origin of the Arabs—Early Language and Religion—The Koreishites—They visit Alexandria—Rise of Civilisation among the Arabs—Poems recited at Ocadh.

IN that great district or division which extends from Chaldea to the Indian Ocean, and from the mountainous coasts of the Red Sea to the Persian Gulf,\* were found,

\* From the Euphrates to Babelmandel is about 1400 miles, and from the city of Bussorah on the Persian Gulf to Suez on the Arabian Sea, comprises a distance of 1200 miles.—*D'Anville, Géograph. Antiq.* According to Volney, this country was called, in



and still reside the nation of the Arabians.† The early origin of this people is unknown, but conjecture and probability combine to place them coeval with the most ancient nations of whom time

very early times, Arabàh, from that eastern word, signifying west, traffic, mixtures.—*Voyages de Volney*.

† Who deduce their name from Yarib, the son of Yektan or Yooktan, the grandson or direct descendant of Noah.—*D'Anville, Géog. Antiq.* p. 115. *Kimschè, Orient. Hist. Bibliothèque du Roi, K.*

Shem, or Theni, or Sem, the third son of Noah, had five sons, who inhabited the country which began at Euphrates, and extended to the Indian Ocean. Heber, one of these sons, begat Yoktan, who had many sons, and these inhabited from Copen, (*Cophenes, vid. Arrian Expedit.*), an Indian river, and in part of *Aria* adjoining it.—*Josephus, Antiq. Jud.* lib. i, c. 6.

or history have left any records.\* The ancient geographers divided Arabia into three parts, to which they gave the names of Petræa, Deserta, and Felix.† The first extended from the confines of Idumea to

\* The language of Arabia was the same with the Chaldaic and Hebrew tribes, and these were presumed the oldest in the world.—*Vide Sir W. Jones's Dissertations on the Arabs, and Plin. Hist. Nat.* who says : " Assyrian letters had always existed : some give this invention to the Mercury Trismigistus of the Egyptians, some to the Syrians." Indeed, this author infers that writing was always known, for in lib. vii, he says, speaking of the Assyrians : " exquo apparet æternus literarium usus." c. 56.—*Vide also Niebuhr's Travels and Richardson's Learned Dissertations.*

† Ptolemy, Strabo, Edrissi. This last composed his work on geography in 1153, A.D., for the explanation of a silver globe, made by the order of Roger, one of the Norman kings of Sicily and Naples.—*Vide d'Herbelot*, vol. i. p. 625, 4to. *Antiq. de Calabre*, vol. i, p. 118. *D'Anville Géogr. Antiq.* vol. i.

the rocky deserts on the northern extremity of the Arabian sea, and its western borders were the outposts of the Lower Egypt. The second is a vast desert stretching eastward, over whose arid tract, no water is found to allay the thirst of the traveller, nor shade to afford him protection from the scorching rays of a cloudless sun. The very air spreads a suffocating vapour, and nature is exhibited in her most dead and dreaded form. The Persian Gulf terminates the misery of the pilgrim and the boundary of this dreary waste. But in Arabia Felix or Yemen which skirts the shores of the Indian Ocean, near the straits of Babelmandel, and in the Highlands that overlook that sea, the presence of woods and streams allows the race of man to dwell, the air is freshened by the vast

currents that blow from all points ; fruits, aromatics, corn, and the means of life are found in abundance, while the fertility of the soil and beauty of the climate have invited the industry of the husbandman and the speculation of the enterprising mariner.\*

Defended on the east and south by an expanse of unknown waters, and by the great Desert ; on the west by the Egyptians, to whom they were for a long

\* From Macoraba or Mecca comes that celebrated balsam, called the gum of the Amyris opobalsamum, so excessively rare, that the sultan receives only 5lbs. weight of it per annum. This shrub is no longer found or known in Palestine. The most part of the balsam sold as Baume de la Mecque is spurious.—See a note in *d'Anville, Géogr.* vol. 1, p. 121. *Art. Macoraba, and the 12th Book Plin. Nat. Hist.* which is entirely filled with the aromatics, oils and perfumes of the land of frankincense.

period an abhorrence ; and by the sands and rocky mountains from the incursions of their northern neighbours,\* the Arabians lived an isolated and uncivilised people for upwards of two thousand

\* Demetrius Poliorcetes besieged the town of Krac or Petra, in the Stony Araby, and after many vain efforts to take possession of this fortress, was dissuaded from further attempts, and recalled to a sense of their futility by the following speech of an Arab chief :  
“ Prince ! what is it you can desire ? what motive can have led you to wage war in the desert, where grow neither corn nor wine ? The love of liberty alone induces us to inhabit these barren plains. Our ideas and sentiments you will never change, and the want of the means of subsistence must shortly force you to retire. Accept, then, our presents, and persuade your father to enrol us on the list of his friends.” Demetrius abandoned the enterprize.—*D'Anville, Géogr.* vol i, p. 114. *Diodorus Siculus*, vol. ii, lib. 19.

years, during which long period, the surrounding nations of the east had experienced great vicissitudes, and had far progressed in language, sciences and laws. The ancient language of Arabia has not been preserved, but it probably differed but little, if at all, from that central idiom which distinguished the Chaldean, the Phenician, and the Hebrew tribes.\*

In the western part of Arabia was stationed the tribe of Koreish, which was

\* It appears that the art of writing was introduced into Arabia by the line of Hamyarite or Homerite princes, who ruled in the western division, and over the Koreishites, and that this was coeval, or very little prior to Mohammed's birth. Respecting the idioms and language of the Arabs, see Sir W. Jones's *Dissertations on the Arabs*. Dr. Hunt, *de Orat. Arab.* Pocock, *Specimen Arabum*. Shulter's *Essay on Languages*. Golius, *de la Langue de l'Orient*,

from earliest times the richest and most civilised sect. Its territories lay on the borders of the Red Sea and the town of Mecca, and its Caaba were under its special protection.\* The religion of the Arabians was Sabaism,† and the worship of the powers of nature, and this religion remained for centuries till the contending fury of the Christian and Jewish converts peopled the cities of the desert with devotees, fanatics and philosophers, who introduced new creeds, and proposed new modes of worship to the consideration of the Ishmaelites. At the birth of Mohammed, the *learned* Arabs had par-

traduit en français, in the Bib. du Roi, Catal. "Goliath," and Richardson's Dissertations.

\* Hyde de Rel. Vet. Pers.

† Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, vol. iii. D'Herbelot, Bib. Or.

tially renounced the practice, and privately discarded the faith of idolaters. The Bible of the Hebrews, and the Testament of the Christian had already been translated into their native tongue, and in the story of the Hebrew patriarchs, the Arabs were pleased to discover the fathers of their common race.\* They applauded the birth and promises of Ismael, revered the faith and virtue of Abraham, traced his pedigree, and their own to the creation of the first man, and imbibed with equal credulity the prodigies of the holy text, and the dreams and traditions of the Jewish Rabbin.

When their name became less hated

\* Gibbon, c. 50, where is a most elegant and concise history of the early Arabs.



by the Egyptian people, the love of commerce and a laudable curiosity induced the Koreishites to visit Alexandria, at that period the brilliant receptacle of learning and the arts.\* There the rude sons of the desert partook of the tree of knowledge, and returned home to refine their manners, to celebrate Olympic games at Mecca, to introduce festivals of poetry, music and philosophy, and to institute the great fair or national assembly of Ocadh, where, while the commodities of existence were bartered, the

\* Under the Ptolomies, who ruled Egypt from about 360 before, to about the Christian era. The Arabs, however, had always continued, from the earliest times, a commerce with India, and the tribe who conducted all this traffic, was the Koreishites.

luxuries and elegancies of civilized life were introduced and matured.\*

In the lapse of one thousand years from that time, after receiving a new religion, and gaining a pure, rich, and expressive language, they quitted the deserts of their native land to overthrow the sovereignties of the Eastern world, to spread their political and religious creeds over half the globe, and to harass, deride, and ultimately destroy the slow decaying power of the Roman Empire.

\* The prize poems were suspended in the Temple of the Caaba, at Mecca ; and Europeans, through the labours of Sir W. Jones, have been enabled to judge of the merits of these productions.—*Vide Jones's Poems—Seven Golden Poems*, vol. i. Ocadh was for years the place at which this great assembly was held. The poems were called Mòállábàt.—*D'Herbelot*, vol i, p. 310.

## CHAPTER II.

Birth, Parentage, and early life of Mohammed—  
Declares his mission—The Koreish persecute him  
and his proselytes—Determine his death—Moham-  
med flies to Medina—His success—Acquires a  
small army—His first expedition—Battle of Beda—  
Battle of Ohud—Siege of Medina—Defeat of the  
Koreish—Ali, Amrou, Kaled and Omar embrace  
Islamism—The attack on Mecca contemplated—  
That city yielded up to Mohammed by the Koreish  
—The conquest of Arabia—The invasion of Syria  
against the Romans—The death of Mohammed.

ABOUT the year 659 of the christian

era, the birth of Mohammed took place at Mecca. The genius, the policy, the tact, and the enthusiasm of one extraordinary mind, changed the destiny of the Arab nation, and the fate of half the globe.

It were vain to discuss, since it is impossible to discover, the true foundation of his apostolic mission. The historians of Christendom have naturally derided all his pretensions, and have treated him as the vilest and most subtle impostor. They have compared his tenets and his practice with those of Jesus, and have drawn, it must be allowed, most striking and forcible contrasts from the parallel. Yet some have attempted with more zeal than accuracy, to decry his origin and birth,\* and have in many instances, partly

\* Hothinger, *Historia Oriental*. Sherlock's disc. Vol. iii.

from ignorance, and partly from prejudice, attributed wrong notions, and ascribed imaginary actions to the prophet of the east.

The race whence Mohammed sprung, was the noblest, richest, and most civilized of Arabia. His grand-father was Abdal Mothleb or Motalleb, the son of Hashem, and of the Koreish tribe; the princes of Arabia, the judges and priests of Mecca, and the hereditary guardians of the temple. Mothalleb was a keen and sagacious warrior,\* who appears to have enjoyed, during a long life, the honours of his native tribe, and the affections of his fellow-citizens. He had six daughters and thirteen sons, and from the marriage of his son Abdallah, with the beautiful Amina, the birth of Mohammed took

\* D'Herbelot Bibl.

place. While young, he lost both his parents, but his grandfather and his uncles were both able and willing to protect him : and one in particular, Abou Thaleb,\* was the guardian and benefactor of his youth. In early life, Mohammed entered the service of Kadijah, a noble lady of Mecca, and before many years had elapsed, the charms of his mind and person had won her affections, and she became his bride. By her wealth, he rose again to his proper station in society, and occupied his time till the mature age of forty, in the cares and duties of domestic life. In the journies which he

\* It is a question whether his uncle Abou Bekr, his constant companion in misfortune and prosperity was not always the favourite of his nephew. (Ockley, Hist. Saracen.)

performed in pursuit of mercantile gain, he of necessity, associated with the world, and a mind so acute, a genius so distinguished, may have soon imbibed extended ideas, and conceived gigantic projects. From his youngest days he was addicted to religious contemplation, and in the caves near Mecca, he was accustomed to retire, and may have, perhaps, then first imagined in the spirit of a great, and with the enthusiasm of an ardent mind, the idea of preaching a new religion, and of proclaiming himself its prophet.

The fundamental principles which Mohammed inculcated, was the one great truth—the Unity of God; and it was probably from a consideration of the then state of the various sects, that he may have been partly induced to promulgate it.

The Jews, the Christians, the Sabians, the Magi, and the Pagans were all at that time visitors or inhabitants of Arabia. The Jews had proclaimed their former state in their history and their present expectations; but their religion had fallen into much obscurity, and many of its learned professors disagreed regarding its doctrines. The Christians had lost the spirit of the gospel, in the fierce disputes and mummeries of their churches. The Sabians were becoming converts to a better light, and the Magi and Pagans were Idolaters. Among these jarring and disconnected elements Mohammed determined to announce the great original truth; that God is one alone; and in order, the surer to make converts, he was necessarily obliged to add that Moham-



med was his prophet. Amidst the eloquence, the visions, the pageantry, and the miracles which the Alcoran sets forth, this tenet was never once suffered to be concealed, or in any way attempted to be perverted. The doctrine of the prophet was pure and simple, the ceremonies and forms he prescribed were, though trivial, necessary ; and were admirably adapted to his own nation, and to his future hopes. He honoured, or professed to honour, the lives, the missions, and the names of Abraham, Moses, and Jesus. Each of these prophets was greater than the other, according to their succession, and he, Mohammed, as the last, was the greatest of all. By these means, if he did not bring converts to his faith, he at least conciliated the Jews and Christians, and

avoided making, in the very beginning of his arduous enterprize, unnecessary enemies. As he denied all divinity to any preceding prophet, so at the same time he humbly professed, that himself was but the destined vessel of God, to receive and to transmit his commands unto the world. The religion of Mohammed was soon adorned and disguised with the mysteries, the fables and the splendour of the east, and which, as in all religions, have been essential to attract and amuse the vulgar, and to confirm the wavering. But the learned professors of that faith may candidly avow their utter disbelief in the miracles, while they sincerely defend the moral essence of their prophet's creed, since miracles were needless either to assert or confirm the religion of nature, and a truth so simple, and so sublime

sought no further assistance than the liberty of promulgation, to be received by the mind, and to be engraven on the hearts of men.\*

By slow and painful degrees Mohammed converted a few proselytes of his own family, and at a banquet given in Mecca, for the express purpose of declaring to them his great mission, he only gained the enthusiastic devotion of his cousin Ali, who from that hour to the last moment of the prophet's life, ever

\* It does not appear, that the faith of the learned Mussulmans is so general, as that of the common people, and the remarkable journey of the prophet, is mystified by the timid, though denied by the bold, into the mere dream of an over-excited intellect. Vide Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 19. Sale's notes to Koran, C. 17, p. 216. note, 7.

continued his generous friend and firmly. The remainder of his guests appeared astonished at the audacity of this new Messiah, and the father of Ali tried in vain to dissuade him from his projects; his enterprising and enthusiastic nephew replied, "Not if they should place the sun on my right, and the moon on my left, should they turn me from my course." Still the new faith received but few converts, and those only within the walls of Mecca. But ten years had not elapsed before the uncles of Mohammed, and the brave and severe Omar had left the ranks of the idolaters to embrace Islamism. The people or rather the priests of Mecca, were the most implacable enemies of the new faith. The long pre-eminence of the Koreishites was insulted by a new rival, and the cry that Mohammed had deserted,

and meant to destroy the established religion was loudly repeated. Supported, however, by most of his family, the undaunted prophet pursued his course, and the Koreishites offended beyond measure, proceeded, by a public decree, to forbid all intercourse with him or with the Hashemites, and ordered all men to persecute, or else deliver up Mohammed and his followers as victims to the insulted majesty of the Arabian Gods. Thus the new proselytes were obliged to flee their native country and become exiles. The death of Abou Thaleb, at this time, was a great affliction to Mohammed, joined to the loss he had also incurred in that of his beloved wife, and first disciple Kadijah. Abou Sophia\* an implacable foe of

\* One of the first characters of the Ommiades, who

the new religion and of the Hashemites, succeeded to the presidency of Mecca ; and the *death* of Mohammed was resolved on. Deprived of his friends, and given up to the power of his enemies, the prophet withdrew secretly, and at night, from the impending danger, and with his uncle Abou Bekr was concealed for three days in those caves near Mecca, where it is said, he had first contemplated the grand project of his after life. In a little time, the fugitives were enabled to resume the road to Medina, near which city they arrived safely, after having, as it were by miracle, escaped out of the hands of the Koreish soldiers. After some prelimina-

figure in {history. D'Herbelot, Art. Abou Sophia and Ockley, Vol. i.

ries, the people of Medina seemed inclined to receive the new faith and its founder with respect ; and the treaty by which they were each bound to the other, was characteristic of the mind of Mohammed, and of the ardent enthusiasm of the Arabs. After promising to make him their general and prince, and swearing to him fealty and obedience, they demanded of him, whether, should he be ever recalled to Mecca, he would abandon them ? “ Everything,” replied Mohammed, “ that is mine is now yours, all things shall be in common between us ; I am, and ever will be the friend of your friends, and the foe of your foes.” — “ But,” said the Medinites, “ what shall be our reward, if we are struck down while fighting for thee ?” And the prophet answered, “ The joys of

paradise.”\* The treaty was ratified, the people were content, and in sixteen days from his flight from Mecca, he entered Medina, and was proclaimed the priest and the prince of that city. In six years after that time, the army of the prophet was in the field, and numbered from 1500 to 2000 fighting men.

Up to this moment, the son of Abdallah had been the peaceful and persuading missionary of a simple and tolerant faith. While thus quietly executing the commands of God, he had been subjected to insult, oppression and cruelty from his own countrymen, and had been forced to fly his native land, in order to preserve

\* Gagnier, *Vie de Mahomet*. D’Herbelot, p. 446, Vol. ii. Ockley’s *Saracens*, Vol. i., see also Discourse prefixed to the *Alcoran* by Sale.



his life. But he had, at last, by slow steps, considerably altered his position. A small army of proselytes led on by their natural bravery, and the invincible spirit of religious fanaticism, was under his guidance. The people of Medina had invested him with the authority and attributes of a prince, and he assumed a pretension, in his future declarations, to command that belief in his faith and mission by fear or force, which up to that period he had been contented to solicit from the impulses of reason and common sense. A large assortment of merchandize destined for the Syrian markets, and which proceeded from Mecca under the conduct of the Koreish chief, Abou Sophia, first attracted the attention of Mohammed and his followers. Three hundred and fifty of these assembled in the

valley of Bedr, to wait the coming caravans; but the approach of nearly one thousand of the Koreish soldiers induced Mohammed to abandon the chances of pillage for those of victory. In the encounter, the Mussulmans were sorely distressed, till their leader assuming a miraculous power, mounted his horse and casting a handful of sand against the enemy, exclaimed, "Let their faces be covered with confusion."\* The Koreishites fled from this pretended miracle, and while victory secured the safety of the prophet, a rich booty confirmed

\* See for a detail of this miracle and the exact mode in which a handful of sand was made to operate on so vast a surface, d'Herbelot, *Bib. or Art. Mohammed* and Gagnier, *Vie de Mohamet*, Vol. i, where it is fully and tediously set forth.

the faith of his followers. The Koreishites resented the loss they had suffered, and soon reappeared at the head of a powerful force, of three thousand men, while the Islamites scarcely numbered one thousand. This second battle was fought on Mount Ohad ; at first, success seemed to favour the Mussulmans, but the love of plunder tempted them to a too precipitate pursuit ; the retreating enemy rallied, the person of the prophet received a severe contusion, and several martyrs to the holy cause fell dead on the field of battle. The pride of Mohammed was severely hurt, the success of his new religion considerably endangered. But in the following year, when the city of Medina was invaded by the armies of the Koreishites, the prudence of Mohammed, the courage of his faithful Ali, and the



tempests of heaven all conspired to defeat them, and they retired in utter despair of either conquering the prophet, or of stifling the divine voice. In about four years afterwards, the great generals Amrou and Kaled embraced the new creed ; ten thousand men were ready for the conquest of Mecca, and the Koreishites, overcome by surprise and the conviction of superior force, opened the gates of their city, acknowledged the power of Mohammed, and were *convinced*, at last, that he was the apostle he declared himself. The possession of Mecca was the stepping stone to the conquest of Arabia. Once more the Koreish tribe, and four thousand Pagans defied the truth and power of Mohammed, and on the field of Honyan were again defeated by the troops of Medina, Mecca and the desert, while the

politic and sagacious victor pardoned his enemies and showered rich presents on their commander, Abou Sophia. From this date, the Arabians may be styled Mussulmans. The Jews, in the commencement of the Mohammedan creed had been favoured by the prophet, their religion coincided with his views, and they both acknowledged that omnipotence could alone belong to unity ; the Kebla, or point of attraction in prayer, had been fixed at Jerusalem ; but the obstinacy of this unhappy people had refused to hear his declarations, or believe his mission, and had opposed his progress and his creed by every means in their power. They were now destined to attract the attention and severity of the conqueror ; many were slaughtered, and others removed to distant provinces, or exiled.

In the conquest of his christian subjects he granted them the freedom of commerce, and toleration of their religious faith ; for the followers of Jesus had never attempted to thwart his power ; they were, moreover, the enemies of the Hebrew tribes, and both or either of these causes operated on the mind of the politic Mohammed to secure them his favour and protection.

The Roman power was insulted by the standard of the Arab, but a long march and a vain display were all the results which accrued to the arms of the prophet.

In the year 632 A. D., the apostle of God was destined to close his earthly labours. In the bosom of his family and in the arms of his youthful wife, he quietly expired,\* bearing to the last the

\* Abulfeda and Gagnier give this version, but d'Herbelot says he was poisoned.

dignified air of his assumed station, his enthusiastic ardour, and his wonted courage. The Syrian expedition was deferred, and the loud clamours of grief filled the whole of the city. The people refused to credit his death, until Abou Bekr appeased the tumult, and

He was particularly domestic, kind and sincere to his family and friends. When Kadijah died, his regret was long and profound. "What," said Ben Zeid, "do I see?" "You see," said the prophet of Arabia, "a friend who mourns the death of his most true companion;" and when the blooming Aischa asked with surprise, and, perhaps, jealousy, "What! was not Kadijah aged?" The answer of Mohammed was as splendid as it is immortal, "No," cried he, "no; find me a better or a worthier woman; when I was despised, she trusted me; when I was poor and persecuted, she relieved me, and she was among the first who was numbered in my cause."—Abulfeda, Vie de Mohammed, par J. A. Savary.

convinced their reason of the fact. He attested the immortal nature of God, and the perishable frame of his prophet.

The soldier and the citizen retired in respectful sorrow, and Arabia mourned her prophet and her chief, in the silence of despair.



## CHAPTER III.

The character of Mohammed — The influence of his religion.—The reigns of the four succeeding Caliphs—Abou Bekr—Omar Ben Al Khetab—Othman Ben Affan—And Ali.

THE motives and the actions of Mohammed are viewed by the sectarian of Christianity in the black colours of an impious though successful imposture ;\*

\* Above all, see *Life of Mohammed*, by Prideaux ; indeed the Dean of Norwich has written rather a tirade against, than a life of Mohammed.

by the votaries of Islamism as the emanations of divine power, and the dictates of the divine will. The philosopher may possibly pass them by as unworthy of *his* serious consideration, while the historian may be allowed to exercise the most impartial judgment that his faculties will permit ; and the review of contending opinions, mellowed by time and circumstance, may enable him to deliver.

It is to be observed that a degree of *sincerity* appears to attach to the character of the Arabian prophet, since, though endowed with high rank, a captivating person, and an amiable disposition, he could have claimed and might have enjoyed great consideration among his countrymen ; yet, after gaining the social advantages of his position by mar-

riage, he abandoned, in order to promulgate his great tenet, an easy and honourable life, to encounter the persecutions, the perils, and perhaps death, to which all innovators on the established religion of a state have been ever exposed, and more especially when attempted among an ignorant and superstitious people.

The grandson of Mothalleb disdained the idolatry of the pagans, and was dissatisfied with the perishable nature of the Sabian gods ;\* and he might, perhaps, have had some fears of the perfection of a religion which, in five hundred years

\* First, he might feel disposed to worship the sun, but though awed by his exceeding splendour, still his decline and disappearance convinced the Prophet " that he neither could be his Creator, his Lord, or his God."—*D'Herbelot*, vol. 1, p. 65.

from its foundation, had raised the most violent persecutions, given cause for the most acrimonious disputes, and filled the cities of the desert with the exiles and refugees of its contending sects. In the Jewish creed he discovered and acknowledged the one great truth, but the unhappy and misguided votaries of that faith had fallen from their high estate ; their original religion had descended to the fables and mysteries of their rabbin, and their obstinacy and unwillingness to associate or explain with any but their own race, remained as unaltered as it had ever been remarkable.\*

It is not, then, the great truth which Mohammed published, but the great fic-

\* Tacitus, *Annales* XVI, XLI. Plinii, *Epistolæ ad Trajanum*, and Juvenalis, *Sat.* XIV, v. 9 to 106.

tion which he joined to it that has caused the malediction or derision of his enemies. Yet, as he was acute enough to perceive that truth, so he was sagacious enough to feel convinced, that without the assumption of a prophetic character, neither he nor his country could hope to reap any lasting advantage. Had he lived only among philosophers, he might have dispensed with all that was fictitious, and have successfully advocated so sublime a doctrine. He, probably also observed that all the prophets who had preceded him, had been either unable or unwilling to risk the preaching of their faith, without the assumption of a divine mission. Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, were the examples which attracted his attention and excited his respect; and the ambitious mind of the

Arab might have been pleased perhaps with the reflection, that although the *doctrine* that these had preached, and which he was now again to publish to the world, had receded before the gross and sensual minds of the vulgar, yet the names of the *preachers* had for ever remained. Again, might he have thought, “the great truth of the unity may become an old and forgotten notion, but the name of Mohammed shall call forth the wonder of thousands, and shall be handed down to the deep veneration of a long and dimly seen posterity.”

We do not hesitate to avow that Mohammed was an ambitious man ; but his enterprize was mighty, and his object sublime. The success of his attempt was rapid and complete, but this should cause no astonishment. He called the

Arabs to freedom, he led them to conquest, and he gave to them a name ; he allowed them the enjoyment of every pleasure here, he excited them with the hope of those pleasures being hereafter augmented, and endowed with eternal force. His eloquence was great, his courage abundant, his enthusiasm boundless. Can we wonder, then, that he inspired his hearers ? The revelations which he propounded were addressed to his wild and impassioned countrymen in the richest dialect, and delivered with the most terrible fervour. At other times, the Arabians beheld their mighty leader, their inspired prophet, the noble Koreishite, contentedly fulfilling the offices of private life, and evincing the affections and attributes of an amiable and humble mind. Though the success

of his faith need not surprise, yet its immutability may naturally excite our wonder. The tenet which he laid down, from the pulpit of Medina, was carefully preserved, through a series of generations, in the mosques of Damascus and Bagdad, in the temples of Cordova, and in the plains of India, and is, at this day, held sacred and unaltered among the superb minarets of Constantinople. The followers of Mohammed have uniformly withstood the temptation of levelling the object of their supreme worship to the likeness or the conceptions of a man.\* The frenzied zeal of a few sectarians, less honoured than despised, have raised divine attributes to his friends ;† but the

\* Gibbon's Rome, vol. 9.

† See d'Herbelot, vol. 1, p. 185.



prophet neither claimed nor has ever received more than human respect might well accord to the illustrious founder of his creed and country. By joining the functions of the Imam\* to those of the Caliph, he humanely preserved his followers from the systems, the avarice, and the ambition of an established clergy, and they enjoy the additional advantage of being able to decide all general disputes, by a reference to the precepts of the Koran.

The immediate benefits which Mohammed conferred, remain to be noticed. He called the Bedouin of the desert from his wandering and his pillage, to the conquest of civilised nations, and to

\* Ockley, vol. 1. D'Herbelot, Art. Imam. Ali. Almamon, etc.

the dignity of a soldier of the faith. He excited the inert inhabitant of the Arabian cities to power and the pride of civilisation ; he concentrated the abilities of his countrymen in one great focus, he turned their united force, both in arts and war, against foreign tribes and enemies ; and at his death,\* he left

\* See, for the fable of his tomb being suspended in the air, what Pocock says, which proves the Mahomedans treat this as an idle tale of the Christians.—*Specim. Hist. Arab.* p. 180.

The influence of women among the Arabians has always greatly existed, and the rights which they enjoyed were important and extensive. They could enjoy independent property by gift, by inheritance, by settlement, by will, by purchase, and “ to the consideration and weight which property, by the laws and customs of the Arabians, gave to the female sex, it may even, perhaps, be no extravagant stretch of thought to trace the success, if not the origin, of a

them the elements of future renown in the success which he had already obtained, and in the unquenchable ardour which he had inspired.

On the death of Mohammed, it became necessary to elect his successor,\* and

religion, which, from the extensiveness of its operations, may be considered as one of the greatest events in the history of mankind. Poverty, as Cardinal de Retz justly observes, is the grave of many a great design; and so low in circumstances was Mohammed in the early part of his life, that had it not been for the weight and power which he derived from his marriage with a rich widow, his enthusiasm might perhaps have just existed and expired within himself. vide p. 331, 332, *Dissertation on ancient Eastern nations*, Richardson.

\* Mohammed declined naming any successor, appearing to have wished the caliphate to be an elective and not an hereditary right. Vide *Ockley. Gagnier.*

two parties in the state, the one named the "Protectors," or Medinites, and the other, the "Refugees," or exiles from Mecca, contended for some time as to which should elect the new chief. At last, by common consent, Abou Bekr, the uncle and father-in-law of the prophet, ascended the throne, and assumed the title of Caliph, which signifies the vicar or successor.

The Arabs now turned their attention to the extent of their territories, to new acquisitions by conquest, and to the diffusion of their religious creed among the surrounding nations; vast armies were dispatched, under the vigorous

*D'Herbelot Bib. Or.* See also *Mills' Hist. of Mohammedanism*, p. 44, c. 2.

command of Kaled, surnamed the Sword of God, to the assistance of Mohanna, the Arab general, then waging war against the Persians. Their labours were rewarded with the capture of the cities of Hira and Anbar, in Chaldea, and Kaled then received orders to conduct his army into Syria, in order to oppose the mighty forces which the Emperor Heraclius\* was sending against the Mussulmans. The Arab hero encamped with 3,600 men on the borders of the Barmuc, and in sight of the Roman forces, said to amount to 200,000 troops. Here he received the news of the death of Abou Bekr. His prudence concealed this event from his soldiers;

\* D'Herbelot, Art. Kaled. Gibbon's Rome, vol. 9. Ockley, vol. 2. The Arabs had refused to pay any tribute to the treasury at Constantinople.

his ready invention suggested the idea of a fast coming troop of cavalry to assist their operations, and in the hour of battle, his bravery overthrew the vast army of the Romans, and secured an enormous booty, of which one fifth was, according to law, set apart, and sent to the sacred treasury of Mecca. Kaled then resigned the command to Abou Obeid, the general of the new Caliph, Omar, and returned to his native city. Abou Bekr had been seized with a slow fever, which, at his age, speedily put all hopes of recovery out of the question. He cast his eyes around to choose his successor, and in spite of the remonstrances of his nephew, Ali, he selected Omar Bén Al Kehtab, who eventually ascended the throne, in the 13th year of the Hejira, Abou Bekr having at that

time expired in the 63rd year of his age, after a reign of two years and three months. Abou Bekr had been surnamed by the Prophet, Seddick, or the faithful witness,\* in consequence of his having attested the miracle of the nocturnal voyage or ascension. This Caliph was of a mild and peaceable disposition, preferring the arts of persuasion to those of war, wherever it was possible. He possessed great influence among the tribes of Arabia, and had, from the first, embraced the new religion with fervour, and had throughout zealously sustained it. He was laid, after death, by the side of his son-in-law, Mohammed, in the city of Medina.

\* Which means, the Faithful Witness, *D'Herbelot*, vol. i, p. 76.

The Caliph, Omar, obtained the preference; the threats and discontent of Ali were disregarded by the electors in the council, and the new sovereign hastened to spread the name and power of his country. The intrepid Kaled, reinvested with the command and government of Syria, advanced against the Romans, fought and took the city of Damascus, and at the battle of Monteb despised the power and the presence of Heraclius, at the head of 100,000 of his imperial troops. The Sword of God raised with his own hand the standard of the faith, fought like his inspired master, and drove the weak and trembling Emperor from the province; the myriads of the Romans were considerably diminished, and almost all the officers slain. The Caliph advanced in person



against the province of ancient Judea ; he commenced the siege of the Holy City, of which, and of all the province, he obtained an easy possession. The mild patriarch and his followers had the good fortune to please the severe yet generous Omar. The Arab forces took possession of Jerusalem in silence, and without committing the least disorder. The Caliph allowed the inhabitants an honourable capitulation, modestly demanded of the patriarch a site for his mosque, and laid, with his own hands, the first stone, on the place pointed out, in which example of humility and devotion he was followed by all the chiefs of his army. In the meantime, the wars of Persia were at an end ; the last of the Sassanides, Jezdegird, had been defeated in the grand battle of Cadesiah ; the idolatrous

kings of that great monarchy and dynasty had ceased to reign, and the powerful, rich, and fertile Iran was annexed to the dominions of the caliphate.

Amrou Ben Allas, proceeded into Egypt. Anxious to defend this rich and important province, Heraclius once more attempted to oppose the progress of the Arabs. The efforts of the feeble and degraded Emperor were vain ; the followers of Mohammed defied his numbers and his discipline, besieged and possessed Alexandria, and elated with such vast success, pushed on their conquering army over the shores of Western Africa, and in the town of Tripoli and throughout all the intervening country proclaimed the name and law, and enforced the tribute of their Prophet. During the reign of the triumphant Omar, the con-

quest of Mesopotamia, and the Median provinces of Korassan and Gihon, or the country of the Oxus, were added to the rich and splendid acquisitions of the East and West. The town of Bussorah, on the Persian Gulph, was a mark of Omar's sagacity, as far as regarded the commerce of his country, as by the erection of this fortress, he prevented the Persian and Greek trade to India. The capital of the caliphate was beautified and enlarged, but the manners of the prince were simple, and his actions virtuous and modest. His conquests abroad, and the benevolence of his government at home, did not, however, prevent the cabals of the envious, nor the treachery of the assassin. Omar Ben Al Khetab fell under the dagger of private revenge,\* or treason, in the 24th

\* Firouz, or Abouloula, a Persian, the slave of one

year of the Hejira, and in the twelfth year of his short but successful reign.

On the death of Omar, the council of state, in whose hands he had placed the choice of his successor, assembled for this purpose. Abdelrahmen persuaded his colleagues to allow him to propose the name of a noble Arabian. This was acceded to, and Abdelrahmen chose Othman, the son of Affan, and who had been named Dhoulmouram, or two lights, having married Rakiah and Cathoun, two of Mohammed's daughters.

Mogairah, against whom, the slave, Omar had decided, but a few days before, in a cause of complaint concerning wages, between Firouz and his master.—*D'Herbelot, Bib. Or.* vol. 3. p. 69, 70.

Omar was the first who added to the title of Caliph, that of Emir, "Commander of the Faithful."—*Ibid*, p. 69.

In spite of Ali's opposition, who again preferred his former and invidious claim, on the score of hereditary right, the election of Othman took place.

The great province of Khorassan yielded to the Arabians, and all the coast of Africa, from Tripoli to the straits of Sebtah, or Gibraltar, were added to the dominions of the caliphate. The Caliph also fitted out a strong fleet, by whose valour and success,\* he took from the Romans, Cyprus, and other islands in the Mediterranean Sea, and the arms of the Mussulmans were severely felt in the interior of Egypt. For eleven years, the liberal and generous Othman wielded the power of Arabia and added to the splendour of her name. The friends of Ali

\* Ockley. vol 2, *D'Herbelot*, vol. 3, p. 85.

conspired against him ; they brought forward the specious charges that he had enriched his own family at the public expence, and had caused various assassinations to be made of those whom he feared or suspected. The servile deputies of some African or Egyptian provinces, then in Medina, were seized on by the factious, arms were given them, and all hastened to invade the palace of the Caliph, which they closely besieged for more than three months. The treacherous Ali professed to defend the person and the cause of his sovereign, while in secret he fomented these dissensions. The mother of the Faithful, Aischa, the last beloved wife of Mohammed, had been frequently consulted, and had advised the forgiveness of Othman and the restoration of domestic peace. In vain ;

her counsels were disregarded and rejected, the courageous Caliph appeared before his malicious enemies ; with the Koran in his hands, he referred to its laws, expressed his willingness to be governed by its decision, and loudly denied the truth of the charges brought against him. The rebels were the strongest party ; they were deaf to his proposals, the hand of the murderer respected not even the sacred book, which was covered with the blood of Othman, whose body was insulted even after death, and was left for a long time without the decent ceremony of interment.

No sooner had the assassins despatched the unfortunate Caliph than they offered the vacant pulpit and throne to the son of Abou Thaleb. But the proud claimant of an hereditary right was not likely to

allow the dependent deputies of a foreign province to bestow on him the sceptre of the kingdom. He refused to listen to them, and frankly told them that the privilege of election could in no manner belong to them. He referred to the Council of the Elders, the Protectors and Fugitives, and even when these had signified their approbation, the politic Ali refused to act until he had demanded the sanction of the powerful chieftains, Thaleya and Zobair. These chiefs arrived ; they tendered or professed to tender their allegiance,\* and the " Lion of God," in consequence, proclaimed himself the Imam and the Caliph of Arabia.

The acts of this prince were not calcu-

\* See the suspicion thrown on their sincerity in Bib. Or. *Art. Ali*.



lated to allay the anger of his enemies, or preserve the empire from civil war ; and dissension may be said to have accompanied his government from his accession to his death. The imprudent attempt to remove the governors of the provinces, who had been selected by his predecessor, inflamed the anger and the hatred of the Ommiades. The lieutenant of Syria, the artful and persevering Moawyah proved his most deadly and implacable foe. The Caliph, while he attempted to flatter the vanity, refused to gratify the pride of Thaleya and Zobair, who had requested to be made governors of Cufa and Bussorah. The irritated chieftains withdrew to Mecca and concerted with the mother of the Faithful the overthrow of her cousin. A terrible faction soon threatened the power of

Ali, and the peace of Arabia. The revengeful Ommiades, the chieftains, Thaleya and Zobair, and the implacable foe of Ali, the widow Aischa, raised a large army, and proceeded to besiege and take Bussorah. As soon as the news of this formidable enemy reached the ears of the Caliph, he used so much diligence, both in his preparation and his march, that he very quickly appeared before Bussorah and in the presence of the insurgents. Their numbers seem to have caused him little alarm, and he jocosely remarked, on seeing Aischa at their head, that though Othman, when he had quitted them was bearded like a man, he perceived that he had returned without that necessary appendage. Overtures of peace were vainly attempted ; the battle of the Day of the Camel was fought with an

obstinate bravery on both sides. The Othmanites had the advantage in number, the Caliph in discipline, and his arms prevailed ; seventeen thousand Arabs fell on the field, and Aischa became a prisoner. The Commander of the Faithful disdained to take advantage of a woman and a relation ; he treated her with kindness, escorted her with care, and sent her back honourably to Mecca. The death of Thaleya, who was shot by an arrow in the battle, relieved him also of an inconstant friend and a dangerous enemy.\*

After a victory so complete, Arabia was once more at peace, but the standard of rebellion was again raised in Syria by the address of Moawyah. This foe to Ali

\* Bib. Or. vol. i, p. 176.

carried the bloody vestment of Othman to Damascus, with the mutilated fingers of that unhappy prince, where he excited the indignation of the people who revolted against the perpetrators of so cruel an act. Moawyah followed up his advantages by long philippics against Ali and his party. The lieutenant of Palestine, Amrou, also arrived at the camp and took the oath of allegiance to Moawyah, acknowledging him the legitimate Caliph. This preconcerted scheme was highly applauded by the soldiers and people, who at the same time swore fealty to Moawyah.

The Caliph employed every gentle means, every persuasive art to stifle this rebellion, and to bring back the Syrians to their allegiance to the throne of Medina; but the sedition was artfully en-

couraged and increased ; large numbers daily swelled the ranks of the hostile party ; all further remonstrance or negotiation became useless, and Ali once more took the field and marched to the frontiers of Syria at the head of ninety thousand men. During one hundred days frequent skirmishing took place, in which the Syrians are said to have lost forty-five thousand troops, while the Caliph only numbered among the dead of his army five thousand men, and some officers of note, the companions and fellow soldiers of the Prophet. Moawyah and Amrou placed copies of the Koran at the head of their lances, and their army advanced, exclaiming that the book should decide their differences and put an end to the war. By this stratagem they succeeded in sowing dissension in the army

of Ali, who retired in deep disgust to Cufa, reluctantly leaving the honest but too simple Abou Moussa to assert his rights against Amrou Ben Allas, these being the two chosen arbitrators.

The cunning Amrou persuaded the referee of the Caliph to pronounce publicly that neither Ali nor Moawyah were entitled to the caliphate, and agreed to follow and confirm the judgment. But the Omniadan general refused to ratify this compact, and in the tribune addressed the people, and cried out, that though he entirely agreed with Abou Moussa in denying Ali's right, he, however, adjudged the throne to Moawyah.

In the meantime, the Kharegites revolted against the Caliph. Ali condescended to reason with them on the grounds of honour and good sense, but

he was unable to satisfy them, and they elected Abdallah Ben Vaheb as their general, and chose Naharvan for their rendezvous. They thus assembled in great numbers from Cufa, Bussorah and Arabia. The thoughts of the Caliph were, however, directed towards, in his opinion, the more formidable enemy, Moawyah, and it was only when he learnt that the Khagerite rebels amounted to twenty-five thousand men, and that they were putting to death many Mussulmans who refused to espouse their party or embrace their opinions, that he determined to put down a sect and extinguish a rebellion that might otherwise overthrow or deeply injure the religion of Mohammed. In this instance, he preferred to use the means of peace and persuasion to the ex-

terminating process of war. He offered a free pardon to those who should enlist under his standard ; a safe asylum to those who should prefer retiring to Cufa. These means succeeded, the army of the rebels melted away, and Ali turned his undivided attention, and concentrated all his forces to subdue Moawyah, and assuage the tumults which had occurred in Egypt.

The wiles, the bravery, and the various successes of Moawyah and of Amrou in turns distressed and worried the Caliph, and the cruel particulars of the death of his friend and general, Abdallah Ben Abbas, caused him the most poignant sorrow. At this period also, his own brother, Okail, embraced the party of Moawyah, alleging as the reason of his



defection, the frivolous pretext, that Ali had only treated him as a simple citizen, and not as the brother of the Caliph.

But an event now occurred which threatened to exterminate all the chiefs of the contending parties, and to throw the new empire of Islamism into anarchy and dismay. In the city of Mecca three fanatic Kharegites met and discussed the affairs and state of the whole nation, and they agreed that all things would go well in their opinion, if the Caliph, and Amrou, and Moawyah were in the tomb. Each made a solemn vow, each chose his victim, and then severally departed on their strange wild mission.

The assassin of Moawyah struck not with sufficient firmness, the slayer of

Amrou mistook the object of his revenge or fanaticism, and died with inflexible firmness, exclaiming : “ I willed the death of Amrou, but God willed that of another ;” but the unhappy Ali fell beneath the blows of his murderer in the very mosque at Cufa, and thus expired after a turbulent reign of five years, in the sixty-third year of his age.

The tomb of Ali was by his own desire, it is reported, concealed from the eyes of the Faithful for a long time. His cause was warmly espoused by the Persians, and by others of the Islamite creed, while his name was held accursed by the house of Ommiah ; until, at the expiration of fifty years from his death, one of their descendants relieved the cousin of the Prophet from the male-

diction, and while he thus retrieved the credit of his family, evinced his own generosity and sense.\*

The Caliph Ali is esteemed among the Easterns as a poet and a philosopher. One hundred moral sayings have descended to us from his tongue or pen, and the celebrated work entitled "Gefr or Giammé," is attributed to his genius.†

\* Omar Ben Abdelaziz.

† Ockley, vol. ii. Bibliothèque du Roi, no. 1169, MSS., 3, 9. The Gefr or Giamé was a collection of prophecies and mysteries written on the skin of an ass or sheep; some say, cut out on a shoulder blade of mutton.

## CHAPTER IV.

Accession of the Ommiades—Reign of Moawyah—  
Yezid—Moawyah second, and Marvan—Review  
of the state of the Eastern and Roman Empire at  
the birth of Mohammed—Of the conquest of Persia,  
Syria, Egypt, and western Africa by his followers—  
The arrival of Musa Ben Nozeir, as the Caliph's  
lieutenant in Africa—Count Julian's offer to him—  
Musa meditates the conquest of Spain—Sends off a  
courier to Damascus—Review of Spain at the time  
of the Gothic invasion, and of the incursion of the  
Arabs—The courier returns from Damascus—Musa  
sends five hundred warriors under Tarik—They land  
in Spain and return to Tangiers loaded with spoil—  
An army fitted out—Its general—Tarik lands on  
the rock of Gibraltar—Attacks the lieutenant of the  
Gothic King—Theodoric's letter to Roderick—  
The Arabs take Seville—Roderick advances  
towards Cadiz—The great battle of the Guadaleta  
and the overthrow of the Goths and death of their  
King Roderick.

THE Ommiades succeeded to a divided empire ; the provinces of Irak or Chaldea, and Arabia, acknowledged the sway of the mild but feeble Hassan, the eldest son of the deceased Caliph, while the Syrian and Egyptian<sup>'</sup> swore obedience to Moawyah. Six months, however, had hardly elapsed before the devout Hassan abdicated his high office, and in the respectable exercises of his religion and of humility, forgot his birth and station, and resigned to Moawyah the undisputed title of the Caliphate. Yet this modest, though degenerate offspring of the " Lion of god," escaped not the fate of his predecessors on the throne.\*

\* Giaadah, a woman of Medina was bribed by the Syrian Caliph Moawyah, and poisoned the son of Ali in that city. His brother Houssain assumed the

The son of Abou Sophia thus established upon the chair of the prophet, saw, during a reign of nineteen years, the arms of his country invade and conquer the Western Africa, where they first mingled with the Berbers,\* a wild and savage race, whose genealogy was doubtful, whose institutions were descriptive of no civilisation, and who were utterly destitute of every art except that of war and rapine.

Towards the north, the Caliph sent his title of Imam, and the sect of the Alides, and the Persian Shiites or Schismatics considered Ali Hassan, and Houssein as the chief Imams of Mohammedanism.—Vid. Ockley, vol. 3 ; d'Herbelot, vol. 2.

\* The ancient name of Barbary ; it extended from the hilly coasts of Mauritania to Algiers. The Berbers pretend to a common origin with the Arabs ; these, say they, descended from the Amalekites conquered by the Hebrews when they took possession of Palestine.—Bib. Or. vol. 1, p. 396—397.

eldest son Yezid, who advanced again the Greeks, and overcame the province of Armenia and Anatolia. He ultimately pitched his tents in the suburb Constantinople, and held that capital long in a state of siege, that he is reported to have sown and reaped the harvest the surrounding country.

The seat of the Caliphate was removed to the ancient and superb city of Damascus, before whose walls the Arabs, and Kaled, and the mild Abou Obeidah had so gallantly and so successfully contended against the skill, the pious devotion, and the last expiring struggles the Syro-grecians of the Empire.\* this noble city the first Caliph of the Omniades was interred, and in this ci

\* See Bib. Or. under the words Damaus. Kaled, &c. Ockley, vol. 3. and Gibbon, vol. 9.

all his descendants reigned till the princes of the house of Abbas drove them from power, and transferred the throne of the prophet to Bagdad. Yerid Ben-Moa-  
wyah succeeded to his father ; cruelty, and blasphemy, and all the crimes to which unrestrained passions and an impious mind give place, stained the character of this Prince.

No conquests abroad, no internal ameliorations remained to retrieve his character, or bear evidence of a wise or a politic mind. On the contrary, he appears merely in the character of a fierce and treacherous robber, under the guise and with the authority of the Caliph.

At the age of thirty-seven years, the second son of Ali Houssain abandoned the hopes of ambition and public life,



and passed his time in Medina in the peaceable occupations of charity and devotion, and in the contemplation of that philosophy which teaches the abstinence from sin by the strict regulations of the passions, and the practice of virtue by an attentive comparison of human infirmities

On the accession of Yezid, that tyrant feared or affected to fear the claims of Houssain, and sent orders for his death, as well as that of Abdallah, the son of the celebrated chieftain Zohair. Excited by this cruelty, they both proceeded to Mecca, to assert openly their claims and to declare themselves against the power of Yezid. Soon after this, the Cufites who remembered the mild government of Ali, invited them to their city, and accordingly Houssain proceeded there. In

the desert which separated Cufa from Mecca, the general of Yezid surprised Houssain and his small troop, among which were the litters containing his wife and children. The enemy numbered ten thousand horses, the troop of Houssain seventy-two; resistance was hopeless, yet death was inevitable. The bravery of the unfortunate Haschemites cost the general of the Caliph a severe loss; but they were entirely defeated, and slain, together with the women and children. The remains of Houssain were dishonoured, his head was sent to Damascus, and insultingly exposed by the Caliph, and by this act the fury of the Abbasides was provoked; by its remembrance refreshed and preserved; till the descendants of Moawyah were driven from the throne, their lives sacrificed to its deadly

nature, and their uttermost descendants exiled from the east.

Arabia was delivered from the infamy of Yezid by his death, which occurred in a town in the Syrian territory after a reign of four years, and in the 683rd. year of the Christian Era.

The son of Yezid was chosen under the title of Moawyah Second, to be the commander of the faithful. He demanded of his tutor, the venerable Omar Al Macsous, if he should do rightly in assuming the great office. "If you feel," replied Omar, "that you can conscientiously discharge its sacred duties of a judge and ruler, accept it; but if not, O! my son, beware!" At the expiration of six weeks Moawyah Second, determined to renounce his right. For this purpose he convened the elders of

the tribes, and thus stated his resolve :  
“ Brethren,” said the young and philosophic prince, “ I had wished to have followed the example of Abou Bekr, and to have named my successor ; but unlike him, I cannot find any one worthy or capable. I then intended to have imitated Omar, and to have left the decision to a chosen council of six ; but no where can I discover that number of persons worthy of exercising this great duty. To you then I now look, convinced that you will, by your selection, do that which will be for our own credit, and for the interests of our holy religion and Empire.” The assembly assured him that they and the people would gladly accept and obey any choice he might make  
“ Nay,” said the ingenuous Moawyah  
“ the advantages of the Caliphate I have

never enjoyed, nor is it unreasonable for me to decline its most odious duty. Therefore I trust that you will appoint among yourselves, him who, in your opinion, may appear the most fitting for discharging such sacred duties." The choice fell on Marvan the son of Hakem of the same family though of a collateral branch.\*

\* The following comprises the list of the Ommiadan caliphs.—

| Caliphs of the East. | Reigned.      | Died AD.      |
|----------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Moawyah.             | . 19 years.   | . . 683.      |
| Yezid I.             | . 4. . . .    | . 687.        |
| Moawyah.             | . 0. . . .    | .             |
| Marvan.              | . . . . .     | . 689.        |
| Abdamalec.           | . 1. . . . .  | . 690.        |
| Walid.               | . 9. . . . .  | . 699 or 700. |
| Soliman.             | . 11. . . . . | . 699 or 712. |
| Omar.                | . 3. . . . .  | . 714.        |
| Yezid II.            | . 4. . . . .  | . 718.        |

Among the innumerable nations who

|            |                            |             |
|------------|----------------------------|-------------|
| Heschem.   | . 19. . . . .              | 737.        |
| Walid II.  | . 1. . . . .               | 738.        |
| Yezid III. | . $\frac{1}{2}$ . . . . .  |             |
| Ibrahim.   | . $\frac{1}{4}$ . . . . .  | 739.        |
| Marvan II. | . $5\frac{1}{4}$ . . . . . | 744 or 745. |

Thus, there were fourteen Caliphs, whose aggregate reigns occupied the space of only eighty years. The enmity of the two houses of Ommiah and of Abbas was active and incessant, and produced continual warfare ; the Abassides attacked Marvan II. who retreated to Damascus, and from thence fled into Egypt, where he was slain in battle, and his head sent to the victorious general Abdallah. This occurred in the year of the Hegira, 132, and was called by the Arabs, " Kalb," from the three letters K'af, Lam, and Beh, which in their arithmetic denote the value of 132. (Bib. Or. vol 2, p. 569. 570. 571.) All the race of Ommiah were then cruelly slain save one, Abdalrahmen, who was destined to reign in after years in Spain.

bowed before the power of Rome, Arabia was alone excepted. Its inhabitants refused to sacrifice, and had nobly defended their liberty. The vanity of the Romans induced them to fancy a province called Arabia ; but, in fact, the rocky desert had defied their assaults, and the roving inhabitants eluded their pursuit. Thus Araby was free, although she remained barbarous. During a long period of ignorance the Arabs were but brave and savage warriors ; the light of science was obscured, and the softening nature of the arts was unfelt and unknown. The race of Kehtan were the scheiks or chieftains of the various tribes, and the nominal empire was hereditary in the least barbarous clan, called the Hamyarites.

Two divisions comprised all the na-

tion : the dwellers in the towns (if straw and mud villages could deserve the name), and the shepherds inhabitants of the desert.

The former were the tillers of the earth, and the owners of the flocks and cattle, while the inhabitants of the fertile Yemen and the land of frankincense, were induced to embark in the perils and profits of commercial life. The wild inhabitant of the desert was, as now, the Bedouin. He wandered over the sandy waste, and where he found some small and fertile spot, planted his tent, and raised his temporary habitation. These resources exhausted, he again removed to another oasis, till, on the approach of winter, he was sheltered on the frontiers of Irak, or on those of the province of Syria. The existence of Mohammed changed



the scene. The shepherds became the warriors of God, and the conquerors of all the country, from the banks of the Ganges to the shores of the Atlantic ocean. Civilization arrived with rapid steps ; and it is difficult, if not impossible, to believe such vast and uninterrupted success, were we not to remember the invincible spirit which the policy of Mohammed had inspired. “ Victory and all earthly treasures here,” said the talented Prophet, “ or death and paradise hereafter.”

To this consideration we may also add that of his views and projects being so well adapted to the existing state of all other great nations. The luxurious Persians were losing their power and firmness in the lap of ease, and of an inglorious repose, while internal dissensions

were continually recurring, which dis-  
severed the union of their force, and  
weakened their means of defence. The  
ridiculous successors of the Romans  
were occupied entirely in discussing  
doubts, and attempting to explain theo-  
logical mysteries ; they were blind to  
passing events, obstinate in their pride,  
and equally regardless of the origin of  
their greatness, or of its visible decline ;  
they appeared content to exist on the re-  
nown of former splendour, and, while  
they looked on its forms, still fancied  
themselves the possessors of its sub-  
stance. The Northern and Western  
Europe was wasted by long and san-  
guinary wars, and buried in the profound  
trance of gothic barbarity and ignorance.  
Mohammed expired, but the Caliph Abou  
Bekr divided his army in two sections ;

one was destined to invade Syria, the other to march against the Persians. Previously to their departure he addressed them in that memorable discourse, which contains the rules, that for centuries after governed the actions of the Arab armies. "Soldiers," said Abou Bekr, "when you meet your enemies in battle, remember you are the descendants of Ish-mael. In your marches, in your combats, rally round the standard of your faith, obey with readiness the voices of your leaders. Never turn your back to the enemy, for it is for God you fight, and, inspired by this sacred truth, you may rush, without fear, and without counting their numbers, among the hostile ranks. If God grants you the victory, be humble, and your swords will never be sullied with the blood of women, of

the aged man, or of the helpless infant, and freely pardon those who ask it. In your march across the country of your foe, respect the face of nature ; cut not down the trees, nor lay the fields and villages in desolation ; seize only the fortress and the stronghold, and raze them to their foundations. Cut to pieces the enemy who will not submit, make prisoner the proud rebel and the traitor, but to all who ask it grant mercy, that God may also, in his day, show you the same. Be frank and loyal in all your treaties with your enemies, behave to all with generosity, and never fail in your promises." These instructions produced their full effect. I may not here enter into all the interesting scenes, nor detail the thrilling acts of chivalry, and the magic splendour of their success.

The consequences were shown in the conquest of all Syria and Palestine, the rich and powerful provinces of Irak and Persia, and, more than all, by the possession of the opulent kingdom of Lower Egypt. The conquest of Alexandria is described by the pen of Amrou, in terms which show the just notions he had of its importance. "I have taken," wrote that general to the Caliph Omar, "the noble city of the West ; its beauties and riches are vast, and too various for description ; but I would chiefly observe its four thousand palaces, its four thousand baths, four hundred theatres, and forty thousand Jews who pay tribute. We have granted no terms, and your troops, Oh ! Caliph ! demand the fruits of their victory." But Omar refused the permission to pillage ; a vast sum was divided among the soldiers, and a heavy

tribute annually imposed on the Egyptians. It is generally attributed to the disgrace of Omar, that he permitted the great libraries of the Ptolomies to be ransacked, and the contents distributed among the baths of the city ; but I am unable and unwilling to believe this fact. The laws of the Islamites enjoined no such injunction as that stated to have been sent from Medina. Omar, though of a warlike, was not of an ignorant or barbarous character, the Arabs were already too civilized and too inquisitive not to appreciate such treasures, and the act appears against the policy of their government, and as opposed to their well-known character.\*

The conquest of Egypt, and the further successes against the Greeks on the coast,

\* "The kings and great men of the East," observes Richardson, "long rivalled one another, in no-

and against the barbarians in the interior of Africa, had led the standard of the Prophet to the shores of the Atlantic ocean. The impetuous Ocbah, the general of the Arabs, had spurred his charger into the waves, and, with an uncon-

thing more than in the excellence of their libraries. With incredible attention and expence, they stored them with every valuable manuscript they could possibly procure; and whatever unrelenting severity a vanquished prince might, by eastern custom experience from his more fortunate competitor, his books appear to have been ever an object of uncommon care." Dissertation, p. 65., and he quotes Konde-mir's preface in truth of these remarks, *inter multa alia*; vide also Sismondi, "*Littérature du Midi*," vol. i. c. 2, on the improbability of the fact alleged against Amrou; and Gibbon, vol. ix., who says that Ammianus Marcellinus had declared the library of Alexandria no longer to exist. Two Christian historians of Alexandria are silent, and an historian of a later date (700 years), is all the authority for a fact which is in every way improbable.

querable fanaticism, exclaimed, "O God of Mahommed ! if these waters did not prevent, I would prove the power of thy name in the far and unknown West !" Abdelmalec had ascended the throne of Damascus. Vast bodies of troops were marched into Africa, and the tottering power of the Greeks was buried and forgotten amidst the ruins of Carthage. The Moors found in the followers of the Prophet, the same manners and language, and the same love for a wandering and a warlike life, and they gladly threw off the vile yoke, both of Greek and Goth, to accept with enthusiasm the standard and the creed of Mohammed.

The savage Berbers still remained unsubdued, and the wild spirit of their prophetess and queen Cahina led them against the Arabian arms. The consequence was a total defeat. Barbary sub-



mitted to the Caliph, and the arts of conciliation were preferred to the fiercer alternative of the sword. The finest horses were sent to occupy the stables of Walid, and the most lovely women to adorn the apartments of his palace.

The brave and sagacious Ben Nozeir solicited and obtained the government of Africa. He had reduced the still existing tribes of the Berbers and the Moors, and all the great province (excepting a few towns held by the Goths), was in a state of the most submissive peace. The *means* to obtain a further conquest were abundant—the *object* was wanting. Before long, however, it presented itself to the eyes of the Mussulmans under the form of a new country ; the name of Andalouz, or Spain was then heard at the Emir's court. Accounts of its fertility, riches, and of its feeble and di-

vided government soon reached the ears of Musa ; his cupidity was excited, his enthusiasm was inflamed. The fortresses of Tangiers and Ceuta, on the African coast, still resisted his attacks. The Governor, Count Julian, offered to lead the Arabs to the coast of Spain, and to prove his sincerity, he placed the citadel of Tangiers in the Emir's hands. In that fortress, the Arabian is said to have acquired the most exact information both of the climate and government of Spain, and now, assured of the value of his object, and fired with the ease by which it could be obtained, he wrote to the Caliph the following dispatch :—" I have reduced to thy sway, Oh ! Commander of the Faithful ! the cities and the tribes of Derâr, Zhab, and Mazmoud, and the savage Berber is become thy subject and thy friend. The sacred ban-

ner of our Prophet floats from the lofty towers of Tangiers ; and from hence to the shores of Andalouz, a narrow gulf is all that opposes the conquerors of Africa and the zeal of the Faithful." He detailed the offer of the Gothic lieutenant of Ceuta, the accounts which had reached him of the new country and people, and solicited his permission to lead the armies of Africa to the conquest.

The accounts which were laid before the Arabian Emir, were, indeed, sufficiently tempting, nor can we be surprised at his eagerness to seize and enjoy the object pointed out, when we consider the state of the Gothic dominion in the southern provinces of Spain. Besides this, on one side, Count Julian offered Musa every information and assistance which it was in his power to give ; on the other, his own followers and the new—

adopted Moors were loudly beseeching him to lead them to the conquest of a country, which had rightly been said to contain all that can form or augment a nation's prosperity.

Possessing a rich soil, a lovely climate, a numerous population, and a geographical position of unequalled felicity, the Spanish Peninsula, at the time of the *Gothic Invasion*, had become a feeble and enervated state. Two hundred years of a corrupting slavery, of long wars, and eternal faction, had banished the spirit of patriotism, and quenched the national pride, while riches had but served to increase the evil, till the gratification of ease and luxury had become the sole object of its inhabitants. The fierce and valiant Odoacer had no sooner seized on the throne of Augustulus, than he decreed this delicious province to the sway

of Evaricus. Galicia alone remained unsubdued, till Leoviddus one of his successors, reunited it by conquest, to his crown, and all Iberia obeyed the sceptre of the Goths. But this fierce people were unable to appreciate the sagacious policy of the Romans, who conquered not only to obtain the country, but the very power of the people, whom they overcame, and who presented to the view of the wondering savage, the elements of happiness in the manners and refinement of civilized life.\* The barbarous Goth

\* In the provinces of Andalusia and Grenada dwelt in barbarous periods, the tribe of the Bastitani. For nine months of every year, their food consisted of acorns, dried and reduced to a kind of paste, and they used oil for butter. Their beds were of dried leaves, and they wandered about in the open air. They were fond of their dance, to which they played sweet discord on the horns of bulls or cows. Vid Strabo. *Iberia*, and d'Anville, vol. ii, p. 205.

sought in the conquest to assuage his thirst for blood, and to satiate his avarice in spoils, which, when obtained, his ignorance debarred him from enjoying, while the unhappy victims whom his sword had spared, exchanged a violent death for an iron slavery, and the noble savage of Gaul and Germany disdained to mingle his pure blood with that of the feeble warriors he had enslaved, or to obliterate the ever recurring marks which distinguished the victor from the vanquished. During the latter days of the Roman government in Spain, the tribe of Moses had increased to many thousands, and these also the Goths had not failed to use and to abuse to the utmost of their power.

At the time of the *Arab incursion* the Catholic clergy had been long acquiring

the influence and the ~~negl.~~ <sup>negl.</sup> government. The manners of the Goths, so celebrated for their stern purity by the Roman historian of a former age,\* were relaxed and corrupted, and they had lost much of their former energy without acquiring the redeeming attributes of polished life; and thus Spain, possessed of all the riches the bounteous hand of nature could bestow, was ruled or rather wearied by a divided government, defended by an enfeebled army, debased by a dissolute clergy, and impoverished by uncultivated lands. Besides this seducing picture of an easy and most important conquest, the petty jealousies or the vain hopes of Count Julian, and the state of the then prevailing factions, was disclosed

\* Tacitus, de Mor. Germ. S. xxx., &c,

to the Emir of Africa. Vitiza, King of the Goths, had recently expired in the agonies of a mortal poison, and Rudericus or Roderick, the Duke of Cordova, hastened to seize on the throne. The children of the murdered monarch, fearing the power and the vengeance of the usurper, had retired to the coast of Africa, where Julian offered them a safe asylum within the walls of Ceuta. This brother-in-law of Vitiza might justly dread the hatred of Roderick, while Oppas, Julian's brother, eagerly combined his efforts, and lent an attentive ear to the ambitious projects of the Count. Under pretext of replacing the children of Vitiza on the throne of Spain, they eagerly sought out partizans among all the enemies of Roderick in that kingdom, but these appear to have considered their party not sufficiently strong,



since among the mountains near Consuegra, the Count Julian imparted to an assembly of his friends, the project of the invasion of Spain by the Arabian soldiers. The apologists for this national treason have always supposed, that in thus abandoning his country to the sword of the stranger, the Count merely meant to have used his assistance to reestablish order or at most, to have gained his own views, and had never intended the Arabs to have made the conquest, and obtained the possession of his country. But Julian had fought against these fiery warriors on the burning sands of Africa, had witnessed their terrible ardour, had been forced to acknowledge and admire their unconquerable enthusiasm, and he must have equally known or feared that of the mass of his own countrymen. Such apo-

logies cannot palliate the treason, and only serve to make us suspect the sagacity or the imbecility of the Gothic prince.\*

\* Another motive for the conduct of Julian has been ascribed to revenge, for the injury done to his honour and family, in the licentious conduct of Roderick towards his daughter. This has been almost universally mentioned by all the Spanish historians, and Mariana enters into a particular detail of the Circes. He states that Roderick first conceived a desire on this point, by seeing the damsel, Cava, at the funeral of his queen, Egilona, to whom she was maid in waiting, and his lust became unaccountable. When shortly afterward he chanced from a window in the palace, to behold her charms more minutely, "*corpus quod magnâ ex parte nudasset Cava, cum aequalibus ludens.*" Mariana, Liber. vi, c. 21.

Though it is here stated that Egilona was dead, yet we find she married afterwards an Arab prince the son of Muza. Vide Cardonne, Vol. i, p. 110.

The courier returned from Damascus. The pride of Walid was gratified by his Emir's activity, and his fervour as the Imam of Mohammed, and his ambition as the prince of Islam, were roused by the hope of still further spreading the faith, and the dominions of the prophet. He readily sent the desired mandate, and

Conde in his history of *Los Arabes en España*, says, speaking of the entry of Muza into Merida, "y entró Muza en ella dia de Alfítra.... tomó en las manos la juventad, mas principal della ciudad con la reyna Goda muger del rey Ruderic, y otras gentes," vol 1, c. 13. It was therefore, perhaps Goda, and not Egilona, that became the wife of Abdelaziz. Regarding the story of Cava, and Don Roderick, Conde says, "Los nombres de Caba, de su doncella, Alifa, y toda la série de este cuento descubre que fu ficcion Morisca fundada en las hablillas y canciones vulgares que corrian entre Moros y Cristianos." Note, vol. 1, c. 8.

Muza lost no time in assembling a chosen band for the first attempt. A small troop of five hundred warriors under the command of the intrepid Taric sailed from the coast of Africa, and returned shortly after to Tangiers loaded with spoils. His success was evident, and his report most encouraging. A powerful army was then organized ; its command was again invested in Taric, who departed for conquest and unfurled his banner on the rock which, from that day, resumed, and has till now preserved its name of Gebel, Al Taric or Gibraltar. As soon as Theodmir, the lieutenant of Roderick heard of the landing of the Arabians, he immediately called together his troops, and at the head of seventeen hundred horse succeeded in considerably harassing the enemy during several days. But in more

close skirmishing, the impetuous valour of the Arabs astounded and disconcerted Theodomir, and could alone have prevented the small body of Spanish cavalry from attempting a general engagement, even had the numbers on both sides been equal. Theodomir wrote therefore to King Roderick begging for immediate and powerful aid, at the same time plainly intimating how desirable the royal presence might prove on so important an occasion.

“ A numerous band of Africans,” run the letter, “ has just landed on our coasts. I know not whence they come, from heaven or from hell. They have attacked me, and I opposed to them all the force I have with me ; but I cannot cope with their numbers, and the impetuosity of their charge is irresistible.

They have encamped upon our plains.  
Send me then, without delay, all the troops  
you can possibly assemble, and I even  
think, that in so critical a position, your  
presence would be of much importance."

Roderick was alarmed on the receipt  
of this information. He called around  
him all the nobles and the clergy, and at  
length advanced towards the coast, at  
the head of nearly one hundred thousand  
men against the enemy, whose numbers  
could not exceed above one-fifth that of  
the Spaniards. In the interim, Taric,  
with the aid of the valiant captain El  
Roumi, had spread around great terror by  
the skirmishings of his detached bands,  
throughout the neighbouring country,  
while he gradually reduced with the body  
of his army all the district lying between

the Algeiras and Seville, of which fortified city he obtained an easy possession.

The Spanish King advanced towards Cadiz, with his immense force, and the valiant Arabs prepared to meet him with that intrepidity which past success inspires, and with that ardour for action, that assurance of victory, which religious fervour can bestow, and which they alone possessed. On the 26th of July in the year 711 A.D., and in the ninety second year of the Hegira, the two armies encamped on the large plain, at about eighty miles from Cadiz, and on the spot where now stands the town of Xerez de la Frontana, separated from each by the stream of the Guadaleta. At the dawn of day, the battle commenced, nor was it suspended till after the setting of the

sun. It was renewed for two subsequent days with equal spirit and for an equal length of time, till the Arabs, oppressed with the vast number of the Goths, gave way and partially receded. On the instant, Tarik perceived this fatal sign, and flying along the ranks, addressed himself to his followers, "Soldiers of the prophet," cried he, "conquerors of Africa, whither are you retreating? Know you not, that flight is death? Before you stand your enemy; behind the fathomless depths of the ocean. There is no chance of safety, but in courage; no hope, but in your trust in God. Mussulmans, follow me; imitate my example." Saying which, he rushed into the midst of the enemy, followed by the bravest of his troops. The shock of the eastern warriors is said to have caused a sudden panic: all that



opposed were struck down, while Taric, charging even to the royal standard, with one blow slew Roderick the King.\* This renewed attack had caused great confusion through the ranks of the Gothic army, and when the death of Roderick

\* Many, perhaps most historians, assume the death of Don Roderick to have occurred by drowning in the waters of Guadalquivir, where, says Gibbon, vol. ix, p. 474, " His diadem, his robes, and his courser were found on the bank ; but as the body of the Gothic prince was lost in the waves, the pride and ignorance of the Caliph must have been gratified by some meaner head, which was exposed in triumph before the walls of Damascus." Also, see Cardonne. *Hist. Arab.* Ascargorta, *Hist. Spain*, and others. I follow here the text of Mr. Conde, the librarian of the Escorial, who wrote his history from original MSS. of the Arabic writers, who all affirm the death of Roderick, by the hand of Taric, and that his head was sent to the Emir of Africa, Muza.

became known, it spread universal dismay. From that moment, the victory was certain, the slaughter was continual, the dead bodies of the Christians were heaped on the ground, and the Arabs remained the masters of the field of Cadiz, and in fact of the kingdom of Spain.

The great monarchy of the Goths, so long decaying, had entirely fallen, and their power, cemented by blood and sustained by slavery for the space of two hundred years, had thus expired in a single day before the valour of a small, but united band of Arabs.

Terrible example, says Mr. Conde, of the danger of reigning over a nation, where the cause of the people is as nothing; not less terrible for those who seek to separate the interest of the monarch, from those of his country.

The banner of the prophet now floated from the walls of Cadiz, the impetuous torrent of its success, had for a moment been checked more by the numbers than by the force of the Goths ; that moment had passed away ; while pausing, its followers had glanced back at their long train of success, and reinspired at the view, they again resumed their march, again unfurled their holy standard, to run the same rapid course with increased splendour, throughout the lovely provinces of Andalouz.\*

\* Though Spain appears to have been known to the Phenicians, who imported from it large quantities of silver, near one thousand years before Christ, and their Tarshish seems to have been the little isle of Tartessus, near Gades, yet it seems hardly to have been disclosed to the Greeks in the time of Herodotus. When the Greeks established a colony at Marseilles,

they must soon have discovered the northern part of this fertile region, which, from the noble river Iberus or Ebro, they styled Iberia, and from its extreme situation in the west, it was also called Hesperia. The Romans called it Hispania probably from some native term.

## CHAPTER V.

Effects of the victory—Taric's address to his soldiers—Cordova—Toledo taken—Arrival of Muza—Fall of Merida—Meeting of Muza and Taric—Continued success—Muza and Taric recalled—Annoyed by the Asturians—Projected conquest of Gaul—Siege of Tours—Victory of Charles Martel.

THE victory of the Guadaleta placed the Arabs in possession of all Andalouz ;\*

\* The Arabs gave this name to the whole of the Spanish Peninsula, although now it is confined to the southern province. The origin of the name appears to have been doubtful ; it may have been taken from Vandalouz or country of the Vandals, but more probably from the Arabic word "*Handalouz*," signifying the region of the evening or setting sun. Vide d'Herbelot, vol 1, p. 233, and Casiri, Bib. Arab. Hisp. tom. 2, p. 327.—Why Mr. d'Herbelot (*loc. cit.*) thinks

and the defeated Goths were allowed, for the time, to retire without occupying the attention or exciting the fears of their conquerors.

According to the custom of the Arabs, Taric Ben Zayad hastened to despatch to the African Emir the head of Roderick, and with it, a detail of his brilliant success, of the vast riches of the country, and of the barbaric splendour which he had found among the spoils. But though Muza affected to receive these tidings with the highest satisfaction, he in reality envied Taric's renown, and in writing to the Caliph, attributed the great success to his own talents and good fortune. At

the Arabs were ignorant of the conquests of the Vandals, seems extraordinary, since they had driven them from Carthage, Mauritania and Africa.

the same time, he resolved to pursue this good fortune in person, by embarking for Europe without delay ; in order to prevent any accession of fame to his lieutenant, he wrote to him to suspend all hostilities, alleging the necessity of a strong reinforcement to his army, and suggesting the propriety of waiting the further orders from Damascus. The passion of jealousy, while it turns to gall the noblest feelings of the heart, appears to attack and undermine both the sagacity, and intellect of its victim. For the Caliph smiled in derision at the empty boast of Muza, and the hero of Spain penetrated, at a glance, his unworthy motives. Induced by this knowledge, and by the state of the conquered province, he disregarded the instructions, and ventured

to push on his career of victory, without loss of time. The situation of the Gothic troops, the alarm of the inhabitants at the new and unknown invaders, rendered it highly necessary not to allow time for the former to reassemble in bodies, or for the latter to diminish in its intensity. For this purpose, therefore, he held a grand council of war in Seville, where he proposed his plans, which were received by his comrades with enthusiasm, and acted on with energy. In the parting review of his soldiers, Taric distributed among them rewards, and extolled their bravery, and while he pointed out to them the scenes of further conquests, he laid down the most effectual methods, by which they could be achieved, by recommending the strictest discipline



among themselves, and the utmost possible clemency towards their enemies. The sentiments, and nearly the words of Abou Bekr to the invading army of Syria, were repeated by the son of Zahad to the forces of the Caliph, on the rich plains of Andalousia.

“ Spare, O soldiers of Mohammed, spare the vanquished, and let your swords descend only where resistance makes it unavoidable ; beware how you spoliage the poor and unresisting inhabitant of the country, and remember that you can only lawfully pillage after the storming of those cities which have refused to surrender to our generosity and thus brave our vengeance.”\* Maxims of

\* MSS. of an Arabic writer in the Escorial, (French translation.)

unparalleled forbearance, rarely recommended by the sagacity of the generals, still more rarely obeyed by the exulting soldier in the heat of conquest, or flushed with the intoxication of the battle field.

Taric then divided his army into three divisions, the first of which, led by the valiant El Roumi, was dispatched for the conquest of Cordova ; the second, under the orders of Aben Kesadi, advanced towards Malaga ; while he assumed the command of the third himself, and marched by Jaén, on Toledo, the residence of the Gothic Kings.

El Roumi offered the Cordovans protection for their persons and property, on condition of receiving the troops, and paying the tribute of the Caliph. Em-

boldened by the strength of their ramparts, encouraged by the presence of some few soldiers of the shattered forces of Roderick, they had the imprudence to refuse the mild proposal of the Arabian, and to offer resistance to his arms. . In the obscurity of night, the Moslems scaled the walls, and opened the gates to the remainder of their forces ; the garrison fled for refuge to one of the churches, and the inhabitants, astounded at the activity of the Arabs, surrendered at discretion, to the mercy of their conquerors. El Roumi, after attacking and destroying the church and all that it contained, re-established order in the city ; caused certain hostages to be delivered up as guarantee for its submission, and then quietly resumed his march, and continued his conquests.

Aben Kèsadi, on his side, pursued the same measures, and met with similar results. Before the magnificent city of Toledo, Taric Ben Zàhad encamped his forces. Soldiers of the discomfited army had already retired within its walls, to spread the renown of the Arabs, by exhibiting their own disgrace, and to augment the number of the forces, by that exaggeration which is ever produced by fear. The comrades of Don Roderick were slain, or wandering in unknown places ; many of the nobles had retired, with their families, from Toledo on the first alarm, and in this position, the citizens, unable and unwilling to contend with a conqueror whose fame had inspired them with dread and admiration, sent out deputies to offer capitulation, and to treat the terms. The generous Arab received these messengers with urbanity, mildly discussed the con-

ditions, and offered those who wished to depart free permission ; but in that case their property was confiscated ; to those who chose to remain, full protection for their persons, their property, and their trade, the free exercise of their religion, the possession of their churches and the administration of their own municipal laws by magistrates of their own choice. He seized for his own use all their arms and horses ; he exacted a moderate tribute for his sovereign ; he restrained the citizens from augmenting the number of Christian temples, without express permission, and from having any jurisdiction except on their own particular affairs. Such\* was the treaty proposed, which was eagerly, one may

\* MSS. of an Arabic writer in the Escorial, (French translation).

imagine, gratefully, accepted by the Toledo citizens, who received within their gates a chieftain whose name is as famous for his sagacity, moderation, and mild firmness, as it is for his indomitable enthusiasm and reckless valour in the field. In the palace, Taric found enormous wealth, piled in barbaric and useless splendour, and the crowns of the twenty-five monarchs of Spain, who ruled from Evaricus to Roderick.

At this juncture, Muza, the victim of envy, arrived in Spain at the head of about 20,000 men, chiefly drawn from the Berber and African provinces. He had left his eldest son Abdelaziz as governor during his absence, and was accompanied by his two younger children, Abdallolà and Mernan, and many

warriors of distinction had followed the army of the Emir.

But while Muza pursued his designs against Taric, he was sagacious enough to approve and imitate his wise policy. The town of Seville, after that warrior had departed on his career of victory, had revolted against the Arab power, and thither Muza directed his steps, blockaded the town, and, on its surrender, dealt leniently with its inhabitants. Bending his course westward, he took successively many towns of Lusitanas and the Algarve, and at length pitched his camp before the walls of the lovely Merida. This ancient capital excited his admiration; its numerous temples, its lofty walls, its palaces and commanding situation, rendered it, indeed, an object worthy of conquest. Here the

Arabians encountered a long resistance, and the sagacity of Muza, anticipating such an event, had already caused orders to be sent to his son Abdelaziz, to reinforce, with another strong body of men, the Emir's troops. The siege was obstinate, and lasted, with various success, till the arrival of the son of Muza with 7000 horse, and a large detachment of Berber warriors. The sight of this fresh accession of strength, joined to the continual and harassing attacks of the Arabs, produced vast depression among the Meruans, and, at length, decided them on offering to capitulate upon easy terms. The deputation from the city was, for this purpose, introduced to the presence of Ben Nozeir, and were struck with his venerable and majestic appearance. The credulous historians relate



an absurd story of the tact of Muza, on this occasion ; but the trick, if attempted, would easily have been discovered, and is equally too much against probability, and beneath history to notice.\*

Touched by their modest pretension, and respecting the courage they had displayed, the Emir granted them the most lenient terms. On the 7th of July 712, the Arabs entered and took possession of this opulent city. Meanwhile, Taric pursued his advantages to the utmost. Placing a governor in Toledo, he pursued the flying bands of his foes into the recesses of the mountains, fought, and dispersed them ; crossed the Gua-

\* A notion prevailed that Muza was very old, and he is said to have dyed his beard black, and thus deceived the deputies of Merida. Vide Casiri, Car-donne, &c.

dalaxara, and penetrated into the district of Gallicia, where, in a town whose site is now uncertain, he found and seized the famous table, at that time supposed to have been brought from Jerusalem, and which afterwards figured, on a memorable occasion, before the Caliph at Damascus.\* Hence he returned,

\* When at Damascus, Muza claimed, as his own conquest, this precious table; the Caliph Suleiman observed that one of its legs was of a different make and material from the others; to this Muza replied, that in this mutilated state he had found it, and had added the wanting one by the leg in gold, whereupon, Taric produced the real leg, which he had broken off and kept back, to the utter discomfiture of the envious Muza.

For the vast designs of Muza as to conquest and dominion, see Cardonne, tome i. p. 95 and 96, and Novairo, Hist. Sb. tome i. The former says the fate of Taric was never known, and he therefore pre-

crowned with laurels to Toledo, and towards that city Muza Ben Nozeir now advanced to confront his lieutenant, and to make him render an account of his disobedient conduct. Taric, well aware of the part it was expedient to play, appeared before the Emir with that confidence which a clear conscience inspires, but without any of that presumption, which, by irritating the jealous feelings, might draw down the irreconcilable hatred of Muza. The chieftains met at Talavera ; the anger of Muza was calmed by the respectful demeanour of his lieutenant, and his cupidity was gratified by the rich presents which had been brought for his acceptance. Taric represented that he had acted from zeal, and that he passed the remainder of his days in quiet obscurity.

and from the wish to pursue that line of conduct, which, he felt persuaded, the Emir himself would have adopted, had he been in Spain.

Muza received the gifts, but not the apology, and no sooner were they within Toledo, than he divested Taric of the command, as having disobeyed the orders of the Caliph. The council of war, in whose presence this despotic act occurred, preserved a heavy silence, till El Roumi, the faithful friend and comrade, opened his speech in these terms : “ Oh ! Emir of the Caliph ! the brilliant exploits of my friend are the admiration of all our army. Not disgrace, but the greatest rewards should rightly be his. Beware, then ! how you excite the hatred of the soldiers ; the virtues of Taric have surrounded him with many friends, and

the sight of his ill-treatment might cause fatal results."

Unoffended by such boldness, Muza conferred on El Roumi the command, which he refused to restore to Taric, and feelings so unworthy of himself and of his high station, remained unchanged towards that general.

Abdelaziz, after the subjugation of Andalousia, led his triumphant soldiers into the province of Murcia. In this part of Spain, under the title of Prince of the Goths, resided Theodimir, the ancient lieutenant of Roderick, who had vainly attempted to stem the torrent of the first Arabian descent. There, after the disastrous day of the Guadalèta, he had sought, behind the Sierra Morena, an asylum and retreat from the fiery warriors of the East, and by prudence

and valour, had contrived to unite a small force, rallying round his standard the remains of the conquered army. Abdelaziz, now proceeded to attack him, but the Arabs found Tadmir Ben Gobdos, as they termed him, a sagacious, as well as valiant enemy.

Remembering, and fearing the attack of the Arab cavalry, Tadmir avoided all the plains and valleys, and on the gorge and the hill-side he planted his troops, who, thus advantageously placed, waged a tedious and harassing warfare with Abdelaziz. But vainly the Goth flattered himself with the hopes of a permanent resistance, Abdelaziz, and Habib his lieutenant, at length forced him to the desperate alternative, of seeing his capital Murgos seized, or of venturing a pitched battle. Theodomir reluctantly

threw himself on the latter expedient, and his defeat attested, at least, his sagacity. The Christians were totally routed, and forced to retire behind the ramparts of Auriola. Here Theodimir attempted a successful stratagem. With very few soldiers, and no chance of a reinforcement, he dressed a number of women in military array, and placed them along the walls and towers of the citadel.

The Arabs were deceived, and instead of rushing to the assault, advanced slowly and cautiously towards the walls. Theodomir reaped the benefit of his ready invention; he demanded and obtained a parley; he was his own ambassador, and the treaty\* between the

\* Bib. Arab. Hisp. de Casin., tome ii. p. 106.  
Conde, vol. i. c. 15.

Arab prince and the Goth, is alike creditable to generosity and justice, and when the latter explained the mystery of his success to the wondering Arabs, their Sheiks applauded, nor was Abdelaziz angry at the happy deception.

Granada, Jaen, and other towns submitted with little or no resistance, and thus Murcia was added to the empire of Damascus. In the palace of that city the feelings of Muza were not viewed by his sovereign in the manner he had either hoped or anticipated, and the result was a positive command to reinstate the deprived general in all his honours ; an order which was inevitable, though reluctantly obeyed.

After their forced and affected reconciliation, these two officers divided the strength of their army, and Taric turned



his conquering steps towards the east. Muza went northward, and victory followed all his actions. Salamanca and other places yielded at his summons; while the siege of Zaragossa, undertaken by Taric, was so valiantly defended, that the army of Muza was forced to cooperate, ere this rallying point for Spanish heroism\* could be overcome and taken. After this important conquest, the two commanders again separated; while Taric following the Ebro, reduced a vast number of towns to submission. In all these expeditions, the noble integrity of Taric

\* Celebrated in the annals of Rome, of the Goths of the Arabs and of the Spaniards, for valour and patriotism, and in our days Palafox, and the maid of Saragossa are names as familiar as they are respectable.

was most conspicuously contrasted with the conduct of Muza, for while Ben-Nozeir scrupled not to enrich himself and family, on all occasions, Ben Zayad set apart, with the zeal of a loyal subject, and a devout Mussulman, one fifth part of the booty taken for the Caliph's treasury, while he abandoned the remainder to his officers and soldiers. The avaricious conduct of Muza was severely commented on by Taric in his despatches to the Caliph, and Muza did not fail, on his side, to colour the motives, and blacken the character of Taric.

This conduct produced a fatal result not only to Spain, but to the two generals implicated, for Walid recalled them both to Damascus, as well to put a stop to complaints, of which he was weary ; as

to prevent any reverses to the success of the Arabs, which their jealousy and mutual vindictiveness might occasion. Leaving the lieutenant Hahib at the head of the forces, Taric departed instantly to obey the orders of his sovereign. He was received by Walid with all the admiration that the conqueror was entitled to expect, and the Caliph alleged, as the motive for his recall, that the power of Muza, and the number of his children had rendered Spain no longer a safe residence for Ben Zayad.

The ingenious Taric entered at length into an explanation of his conduct, and ended by these emphatic words: "As for my actions, sire, ask all the Mussulmans in thy armies, what Taric Ben Zayad has ever proved; whether in Africa

whether in the Spanish land, ask it even of the Christians ; let *them* declare if they have ever seen me act the coward, the tyrant, or the spoiler."

The Caliph replied, that he was well aware of the true facts, and that he applauded both the policy, and the bravery of his general. Muza Ben Nogier quitted the luxuriant fields of his triumphs, with a slow and unwilling step, and arranged the governments of his emirship in a manner, that plainly indicated his hope in a speedy return.

Abdelaziz was named deputy governor of all Andalousia, Abdala that of the army ; and after fixing the seat of the government at Seville, and intrusting its councils to the wise and prudent Ayub, (also a relation,) he quitted Spain on board the admiral's ship for Tangiers,

where he arrived in safety, and loaded with enormous treasure. Here, he placed his second son Abdalala, as sub-governor of western Africa; and then continued with a heavy heart, his road to Syria. As he approached, he met the tidings of the death of Walid, and of the accession of Suleiman, and his apprehensions rose on the news. Nor were his forebodings vain; forgetful of his services, of his age, and of his long career of brilliant success, the new Caliph received him coldly, degraded him publicly; and then, excited by the most odious of all feeling, hatred to the man he had so basely injured.\* This vile successor of the prophet, proceeded to enact one of

\* "Proprium humani genii est odiasse quem læseris,"  
is the remark of Tacitus.

those bloody tragedies, of which the palaces and the passions of Asiatic monarchs have so often been the theatre and the cause.

The sons of Muza who were left in Africa, were deposed and secretly murdered; and the Caliph sent on mandates to Spain, to carry on the same intentions into effect against Abdelaziz, the governor of that province, and the eldest son of the aged Muza.

This young and gallant prince, the friend of Tadmir the Goth, and the mildest of conquerors, had closely allied himself with the Christian cause by espousing the widow of Roderick, of whose charms he had become enamoured on his entry into Seville.\*

\* Arab MSS. in the Escorial, Casiri, Conde, Joseph and Novain, tom. 1. p. 310.

These circumstances enabled the Caliph's myrmidons to execute their orders with the greater facility, since the first steps they took, were to raise suspicions among the faithful of the sincerity of Abdelaziz.

From his country residence, the Arab prince repaired to the mosque of Seville, to render up his matin prayers; the assassins chose this hour for the perpetration of their deed, and his head was sent to Damascus, in token of the instructions having been obeyed, with a refinement of cruelty hardly credible. The ferocious Caliph exhibited the head of his son to the unfortunate father, asking him at the same time if he recognised it. The wretched Muza, after bestowing no measured curses on the murderous despot, quitted in haste the palace, the city,

and the world, and rushing into the deserts of Arabia, there found in death, the effectual relief to his misery.

Suleiman survived but a year, (A.D. 716) the victim of his tyranny ; the Arab Scheiks of Spain elected Ayub the nephew, or son in-law of Ben Nozeir, who continued to fight and to conquer. The jealousy of Omar the second, deposed this governor on account of his relation to Muza, and named Alhaur El Kaisi in his place. This governor invaded the Narbonnese territory ; but greedy of plunder, and savage in temper, he only enriched himself with the hatred of both Arab and Christian.

In the most inland parts of northern Spain, amidst mountains almost inaccessible, and in a province whose length and



breadth are comprised within thirty miles,\* the last and the most hardy remnant of the Goths of Guadaleta, had found a safe retreat, and established a government of their own. One of their warriors, whose birth is uncertain, and whose name is imperfectly known as Pelasgus, seizing from time to time opportunities as they occurred, assembled forces and ammunition, and now after a lapse of some years, came boldly forward to harass the power of the Moslems, and to offer a powerful resistance to the torrent of their success.

In the towns of Galicia, Leon, and the Asturias, the discontents of the Chris-

\* Geogr. de Danville, tom 2. p. 195. Edrissi, p. 313, and Malte-Brun Geogr. Univ. p. 496, 497. Ed. 1838.

tians were manifest and considerable. Their obstinate bravery had caused great trouble to their conquerors, and the terms of their submission were consequently less mild and supportable than those imposed on the southern provinces ; the result was necessarily that the submission was imperfect.

Thus a formidable power was gradually rising against the standard of Islamism, and which, while it kept from time to time the Moslems in check, sagaciously seized the opportunity of their growing dissensions to augment and extend ; till at length the seed sown by a few hardy warriors on the ruins of their despair covered the whole land, and led in turn to the overthrow of the Arab power and pride. For the space of twenty years,

the attacks and defence of the bands of Asturias annoyed and surprised the soldiers of the Caliph ; at the expiration of that time, their sagacious chief Pelasgus had increased his territory, established Oviedo as his capital, and left to his successors, and son in-law Alphonso, an augmenting power and people.

Alhaur-el-Kaisi was succeeded by Ambisa, and his power was again cut short by the nomination of Abderhamen to that post by the Caliph's governor in Africa. The sagacity and the temperate firmness of Abderhamen appeased the growing dissensions of the Mussulman, and again consolidated their power. But Ambisa by ingenious representations to the Emir in Africa, denounced this general as unworthy of the trust reposed

in him. Related by birth to the Emir, his suggestions were adopted, and he succeeded to Abderahmen's place.

The generous warrior testified neither resentment nor surprise ; he complimented Ambisa on his accession, and resumed the post he had previously held, as an officer in the army. Ambisa, however, does not appear altogether unworthy of our esteem ; he applied himself to regulate the finances, and to the collecting of the taxes ; and with a rare justice and benevolence, he gave to his countrymen only such lands as were unappropriated, allowing no infringement of the property of Christian or Jew.

He constructed a beautiful bridge at Cordova, and otherwise embellished that town ; and in a personal survey of the provinces, he redressed, with a rigid im-

partiality, the grievances of all sects and creeds. The Tarragonese were defeated by him in an attempted revolt, and he more than once invaded the territories, and alarmed the inhabitants of Gaul. About this period, the news that the long expected Messiah of the Jews had appeared in Syria, in the person of one Zhonar, induced this credulous people to leave riches, family and friends, to hear and follow their new prodigy. Ambisa quietly saw them depart, and then confiscated their chattels to the crown.

The following year he was slain in battle near the banks of the Rhone, in an attack which he had made on the Gauls. Othman became his successor, and was speedily deposed by the order of Haschem the Caliph.

Alhaitam a Syrian, was the next gover-

nor of Spain, of a low and servile disposition, harsh to his friends, cruel to his enemies, he was at once hated and despised by his countrymen, and by all in Spain. Plots were carried on against him by the Arabian Sheiks, and confused disunion checked the progress of dominion, and gave renewed strength and hopes to the enemies of the Caliphate. In the end, the court of Damascus was constrained to send an officer, Mohammed Ben Abdallah, to inquire into the conduct of Alhaitam, and to calm the troubles of the army.

He deposed Alhaitam, and reinstated the philosophic and faithful Abderahmen in his post. This excellent governor applied himself with sagacity and zeal to rectify abuses, and to increase the prosperity of the people.

Two whole years were employed by him in going all over Spain, in listening to complaints, and in redressing grievances; in his decisions, he allowed no difference in religious tenets to have any weight. He divested many Cadi of the power they had abused, and of the trusts they had violated; he restored to the Christians the temples of which they had been deprived, and he attempted, by all the means of which he could avail himself, to palliate the evils of the conquered tribes, by restraining the rapacity of the victors.

After these acts, one mighty object of ambition occupied all his thoughts, namely, the conquest of the entire of Gaul, if not of Europe. For this purpose, he wrote to the African government to send over large bodies of troops,

and his demand had been immediately complied with. He marched these towards the frontiers, and wrote to the general commanding the Pyrennean passes, to attempt, without delay, an entrance into the Narbonese.

This Arab was Abou Neza, Othman, or Mugnoz,\* an officer of great distinction, and much ability; and had there existed in his mind an equal desire to extend the power of the Caliph, or to carry further the creed and standard of the Prophet, all Europe would have reeled under the coming shock, and many centuries might not have been found sufficient to have stemmed the course of Mohammed's followers, while

\* Mons. Conde names him Othman, but most other writers give the name of Mugniaz, or Mugnoz, or Abou Neza.



this meditated attack on the great powers of Europe might have been the prelude to a long and varied struggle between the cross and the crescent. In this event, the warriors, who, three centuries later, buckled on their shield and swords to invade the Moslem in his own fastnesses and in his own land, would have been occupied in defending their ancestral domains, and in withstanding the charge of the impetuous Arab on the plains of Europe

But the lieutenant of Abderhamen answered not the call; he had become enamoured of a Christian maiden, and the charms of Lampagia, the daughter of the Duke of Aquitaine, had secured the friendship of the Arab for her country, and his fond affection for herself. Among the narrow gorges of the Narbonnese

frontier, the noble warrior had fixed his residence of Alhúb, or the gate, and had concluded a treaty of peace, if not of alliance, with his father-in-law Eudes.

Irritated by this account, which was dispatched to him, Abderahmen sent soldiers to Alhúb, to watch the motions and prevent the treachery of Abou Neza. This last precaution was already too late ; the Duke of Aquitaine was apprised of the fearful preparations in hand ; while the appearance of the Sheik Gaahdi, and the Emir's troops, spread dismay on all the household of Abou Neza. Gaahdi pursued him and his suite to the fastnesses of the mountains, where he harassed him by a close and continual pursuit. At length, wearied with anxiety and fatigue, Abou Neza stopped to assuage the thirst of a hot day's march, in

flight. But he was suddenly alarmed by the tramp of his pursuers, and looking round, beheld the soldiers of G. His retinue instantly fled, and Neza sold his own life, at the expense of many, among his foes. His head was cut off, and Lampagia led away captive, and both were shortly afterwards conveyed to Damascus; the one to adorn its walls, the other to adorn the harem of its prince.\*

\* Her name is imperfectly known; her features accurately recorded. She may have been Lampazia, or Menina, or Memerania, but she

The news of this event, the hopeless loss of his daughter, and the rumour of an approaching army of 250,000 Arabians, struck the Duke of Aquitaine with feelings of grief and despair ; feelings, daily augmented, by the fearful rapidity with which the army of the crescent marched and triumphed, from the frontiers of Catalonia to the city of Bordeaux. In that place, uncertain accounts lead us to suppose, the Prince of Aquitaine fell in battle. At the passage of the

P. 192. Marianna, Hist. tome i. Casiri Bib. Hisp., Arabic, tome i, p. 199, &c. The name of the lieutenant of the Caliph is called by Conde, Othman Ben Neza, or Abou Neza ; he says " Este Abou Neza es el que en nuestras antiguas cronicas y en las de Francia, se llama Munuza, fue facil depravar el Abou-neza en Munuza, en algunas copias Aribigas, le llama Abous Tezza."—Vol. i, chap. 23.

Garonne, or the Dordogne\* the army of Abderahmen was again opposed, and vain, by the troops of Poitou and Goulême.

Covered with booty, and satiated with carnage, they pursued their march. (After the city was attacked, defended, sacked, till the walls of Tours, at length met the eyes, and excited the desires of these impetuous children of the desert.)

All France now rose up in arms at the terrifying news; each province alarmed at such an invading, and apparently, invincible force, united to defend home, and altar; the petty feudal rivalry and jealousy were forgotten, quenched, and the hero of Austrasia, Charles Martel, took the command.

\* Here the Christian and Arabic historians at variance with each other and among themselves.

that army, on whose success hung the destinies of France, Europe, and, perhaps, the universe.

In the year 743, the siege of Tours occupied the Arab arms, and its possession increased their hopes and their pride. In the autumn of the same year, in the plains between that city and Poitiers, the ensign of Mahommed, and the banner of the cross were seen arrayed against each other in deadly strife. For the first, and for the last time, the ancestors of St. Louis, and of Cœur de Lion, waged war with the Infidel on Christian soil.

The battle is said to have lasted seven days, and all that skill and devoted bravery could suggest or achieve, was brought to bear on the last and most important day. Each commander strove, with all his ar-

dour, intelligence and valour. To the Arab, his defeat would prove an insuperable barrier, to all further progress, and would force him to retreat, step by step, over foreign ground, and amidst the retaliations of people of a different faith and tongue, and smarting from newly received injuries to the Frenchmen ; the victory would be the means of retrieving their honour, repelling in future the attacks of enemies as formidable, as they were hateful.

Fate decided for the Christians ; in streams of blood, Charles Martel washed away the insult, which the appearance of the Arab standards in Touraine had inflicted ; and the setting sun of this portentous day glared upon the tremendous slaughter of of the Arabs,\* the

† See Ximenes of Toledo. Hist Arab, c. 12. to 14.

death of Abderahmen and the waving banners which proclaimed the victory and the safety of the Christian warriors of Europe.

and Cardonne tom 1. p. 131. 37,500 Arabs, and only 1500 Christians were attempted to be palmed on the world as the respective losses of the Moslemah, and Franks on this great day.

END OF VOL. I.





THE  
ARABS IN SPAIN;

AN  
HISTORICAL NARRATIVE.

" Whilome on those banks did legions throng  
" Of Moor and Knight, in mailed splendour drest :  
" Here ceased the swift their race, here sunk the strong ;  
" The Paynim turban and the Christian crest  
" Mixed on the bleeding stream....."

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THE  
ARABS IN SPAIN.

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CHAPTER I.

The command given to Ocba—His death—Rebellion of the Berbers—Abdelmalec reinstated—He is murdered—El Buktar's division of the country—Rebellion of Samail Ben Hudem—Convocation of the Nobles—Jussuff Ben Fehr elected ruler—Renewal of civil war.

THE victory of Charles Martel inflicted a heavier blow on his enemies, than the mere dispersion and retreat of their army. It impressed on the minds of this ardent

and up to this moment, all conquering people, a feeling of disappointment, rage and even astonishment, which, added to the principles of fatalism, inculcated by their prophet, produced a general despondency, that neither the fervent eloquence of their new Emir, Abdelmalek Ben Kotam, nor the memory of their long career of uninterrupted conquest were able to dissipate. Languidly they listened to his exhortations to rally their spirits, and resume their arms. The French troops surprised the retreating Moslems amidst the defiles of the Pyrenees, and again defeated their leaders; and the disappointed and alarmed Caliph issued the order for divesting Abdelmalek of the command, and placing Ocba, the conqueror of Mauritania, in his

stead. The celebrity of this warrior\* was owing to his signal integrity, and to a happy combination of qualities which rendered him as able a statesman, as he was a skilful commander. His assumption of the reins of government was instantaneously felt among all the Cadis and unjust lieutenants of provinces, who were replaced by magistrates of sounder principles, and of more benevolent intentions. The administration of the Walis was carefully examined into, and their rapacity effectually checked; the Emir then gave his attention to the project of a new invasion of the Gallic territories, conformably to the instructions of his sovereign; but at this time a fresh revolt

\* Hist. de la Domin. des Arabes en Eepagne, Car-donne, tom. 1.

of the Berber tribes claimed his more immediate attention, and his return to Africa. In that district, victory crowned all his efforts, and justice accompanied his progress, but when he returned to Spain, he found that country in the opening ferment of civil dissension, and he was also aware that his end was rapidly approaching. He retired to Cordova, where, on his death bed, he recommended his virtuous predecessor to the Caliph, and expired amidst the sincere regrets of a people, whom he had endeavoured to benefit by redressing their complaints, and by consolidating the forces of the kingdom for their protection. The death of Ocba appeared a signal for a general revolt; the Berbers had waited but his departure, again unfurl the standard of rebellion.

Emir of Africa was defeated, and the power of the Caliph was further insulted in the person of his lieutenant in Egypt.

Everywhere the rebels were victorious, and the Caliph's troops retreated to the African coast, under the command of their officers Ben Bakr, and Thalab, whence they passed over into Spain. The Caliph had confirmed the wish of Ocba, and the Emir Abdelmalec heard, with deep concern, of the arrival of a force, whose presence would of necessity be hailed by the factious, and who would be easily induced to espouse that party whose prospects of success appeared most immediate or flattering. Nor were his fears groundless :\* the instructions which he

\* Novairi, tom. 1. El Gessn. MSS. Bibl. du roi E.



sent to the African generals not to advance further from the coast, but to hold themselves in readiness to return into the revolted provinces of Africa, were construed by his enemies into a wish of rendering himself independent, and hence, that he dreaded their presence. The result was, the advance of Ben Bakr and Thalab, at the head of an imposing force, with the hope of seizing on Toledo, ere the Emir, who was in Saragossa, could arrive to its assistance. Abdelmalec, on these tidings, lost no time in appearing before its walls, and no sooner did his son, who commanded its garrison, hear of his father's arrival, than he made a desperate sally, and compelled the besiegers to retreat with great loss. The son of the Emir's friend Ocba, repulsed with equal success the

factional foe from before the walls of Cordova ; but inflamed by victory, he was tempted to a too precipitate pursuit, and the rallying shock of Ben Bakr's cavalry being too impetuous for the young hero to resist, his troops were consequently defeated. On this, the Emir retreated to Cordova, and placed himself in apparent security within its gates. But his confidence was betrayed, and while he wrote to reproach the African generals with their faithless and most unpatriotic conduct, and to offer them peace on the mildest terms, their vanity argued that this proceeding was dictated by timidity, and they refused to listen to his proposals. The appearance of their army before Cordova inspired a real or an imaginary fear ; the cowardice of the Cordovans suggested, what their

baseness performed, and by the delivery of Abdelmalec into the hands of his enemies, they sought and obtained a dishonourable security for themselves. The virtuous Abdelmalec was murdered by the savage Ben Bakr, and civil war was declared in Spain, by his proclaiming himself its Emir. The jealousy of his brother in arms, Thalab was aroused by this conduct ; he declared his adherence to the legitimate sovereign at Damascus, and that in him alone resided the choice of an Emir.

In the plain of Calatrava, the pride of Ben Bakr was doomed to suffer both a check and an extinction. The valiant Abderahmen Ben Ocba met him at the head of his forces, and accepted his challenge of single combat ; he slew the factious tyrant, gained for himself the

proud name of Al Mansor, and pursued the flying enemy with rapidity, perseverance, and success.

Thalab pursued his career with somewhat better success; he entered the gates, and seized the city of Cordova, and was about to indulge his *humane* propensities by the slaughter of one thousand of his prisoners, but they were saved by the timely arrival of the Caliph's Emir—the celebrated Hossein El Buktar, to whom they were presented as sign of homage by Thalab. On the same day, they were set at liberty, while he was arrested and reconducted to Tangiers.

El Buktar's government was marked by measures of mild policy, and a great wish for the reconciliation of all parties in Spain. In the division which he made of the country, he attempted to assimilate

occupiers.\*

His plans met with the high approval from all classes, and many of his acts tended to heal the wounds which civil war had inflicted ; no wonder they would have failed if the spirit of faction had not already taken deep a root to be banished from the land. El Buktar deemed it necessary to depose Samail Ben Hutem from the Waliha or provincial government as he had degraded by his extortion

• He gave Beledi and Ossnoba to the Tadmira  
Tadmira or Murcia to the Arabs of Kahta

injustice; and this man, burning with vengeance, rushed into open rebellion, and by his valour and influence, plunged the kingdom into civil discord.

El Buktar was surprised, taken prisoner, and confined in the citadel of Cordova, and the people were ordered to believe that this was by the command of the Caliph at Damascus. At length the sons of Ocba and of Abdelmalec, effected the deliverance of El Buktar, and this hero heading the Cordovans, and others who had joined his standard, in a vigorous charge of the troops of Samail, met his death on the field, and left the kingdom to anarchy and rapine.

The convocation of the leading nobles of the tribes of Yemen, Egypt and Cahtan discussed the propriety, and succeeded with difficulty in assembling a

large body of the people to devise some method which should deliver the country from a state of tyranny, and mis-rule, no longer supportable. Their general opinion expressed the necessity of elevating to the government one ruler; they might have referred the choice to the Caliph, but the affairs of the east were in the greatest confusion, and the communication through the revolted provinces of Mauritania, and Egypt was difficult and uncertain. They elected one Jussuff Ben Fehr, of the Korish tribe, and who claimed a direct descent from the prophet.

All Spain approved the choice of the assembly, and the mild and peaceful character of Jussuff gave every reason to presume the utmost advantages from his government. The death also, of more

than one turbulent chieftain, smoothed away difficulties, and Jussuff, with popular opinion in his favour, was enabled to effect many reforms, and to restore order throughout the Andalousian district.\* To the rebellious Samail, and the high admiral,† Amer Ben Amrou, he conceded the governments of Toledo, and Seville, dreading perhaps the turbulence of the former, and the vast riches and ambi-

\* Cardonne, tom. 1.

† The admiral's office had, at this time, become a sinecure, owing to the total cessation of intercourse between the east and west. Amer Ben Amrou claimed a high descent, and maintained a princely establishment. His palace was in or near Cordova, and was one of the largest and richest then in existence in Spain, his retinue was immense.—Al Kebr. Bibl. du roi K.



tion of the latter. During the administration of Jussuff, the communications between the different towns and provinces were reopened and perfected, and in the cities of his government he reconstructed the bridges, and increased, and facilitated public convenience and luxury. He repaired the ruin caused by civil war, and set apart for the erection and maintenance of public edifices throughout the kingdom three quarters of the tribute money of each province. He took a census of the population, and divided the country into five\* great departments. The conquests, or encroachments of the

\* Vide Géogr. de Danville—Bætis &c. Pinkerton's Geography vol. 1. (Spain,) and Cardonne's Hist. tom. 1, p. 381.

Asturian Christians extended to the banks of the Douro, and the able talents of their leader Don Alphonso the Great was daily cementing, and extending their power by the means which Arab dissension and lawlessness so amply afforded.

The Arabian historians give us to understand that the mind of Jussuff was seized with the wild schemes of Gallic invasion, and European conquest; schemes, which he was only prevented from attempting, by a recurrence of civil war, which, fanned and fomented by the jealousy, and ambition of Samail, Amer, and their followers, again raged with renewed fury, and with a violence which threatened to destroy the monarchy, the name, and the religion of the prophet, in the fair regions of the west. The weak

policy of Jussuff proved the means of extending the war from one end of Spain to the other.

Convinced of the treasonable designs of Amer Ben Amrou by intercepted letters, he wanted the courage openly to resent, or the policy prudently to dissemble. By half measures, he excited his suspicions, and hastened his revolt, and by a proceeding whose rigour was only equalled by its baseness, he cancelled the good opinion of the public, and applied the match to that flame, which eventually consumed himself, and thousands of his countrymen.

Concerting with Samail, he planned the seizure and the death of Amer. At his palace of Siguenza, Samail learnt and awaited the approach of the admiral, and sent out to salute and invite him to

partake of his hospitality. The unsuspecting Amer accepted the offer, but no sooner were they at table, than the appearance of Samail's soldiers warned him of the danger in which he stood. The valiant Arab, sword in hand, cut a passage for himself, and having thus saved his life, he raised the banner of war and the cry of revenge, and openly proclaimed the defeated treachery of Samail and Jussuff, while he carefully exaggerated the massacre of Siguenza. The nobles of the tribes of Yemen, and Kahtan, disgusted with the conduct of Samail, espoused his cause. Ben Amrou raised a large force in Toledo, and soon greatly augmenting it, advanced to Saragossa, which he reduced. Jussuff hastened on his side, to levy troops from all the cities and districts; the whole country split

into the factions of Amer, Samail, or Jussuff took up arms. The frontiers were deserted by the coast forces, whose generals had fled to join the rival armies, and enjoy a share of the combat and the plunder.

The towns and fields were the scenes of continued warfare ; pillage, violence, and murder, were everywhere conspicuous. The total suspension of laws or justice, the devastation in the plains, the smoking ruins of the city bespoke the frightful presence of anarchy, and Spain given up to this cruel power, received the desolating marks of faction, which after times could never obliterate, and which the smiles of a rich prosperity, in a later period, only served to render more apparent, and more appalling.

At this epoch also the east was

covered with the armies of rebellious Emirs, alarmed by the quick succession of her revolted provinces, and worn out and divided by the fierce struggle between the houses of Ommiah and of Abbas. The former had owed its existence to that cunning and intriguing Ommawyah, who had established his throne in blood, and his popularity in Syria. The indolence of his successors or their vices, had alike disappointed and disgusted the Arabians, and they were equally fatigued by the likeness of the Walids, or the ferocity of the Yezids, and Suleimans of that race. Though the memory and the death of Othman had raised and confirmed the power of Ommwyah, the murder of Hussein, and the crimes of Yezid were equally unfor-

gotten and now cried out for vengeance—  
The Caliph Mervan II, was the last and  
most unfortunate of his race. The  
influence of the Abassides spread revolt  
and dissension around his throne, and  
the ambitious Azfah, openly proclaiming  
himself Caliph, defeated and pursued the  
fugitive Mervan from the banks of the  
Euphrates to the depths of Egypt.  
There, the descendant of Ommwyah was  
discovered in his retreat, his life was  
sacrificed and his remains cruelly mutilated.  
The house of Abbas everywhere  
triumphant, raised their black banner on  
citadel and town, and Azfah was at length  
acknowledged as the twentieth cousin of  
the prophet, and the Caliph of the  
east.

The rites of hospitality have been ever

held sacred among the civilised and the barbarous tribes of earth, and among none, more so than the ancestors and posterity of Mohammed. But revenge and factious ambition are potent ministers to the worst passions of mankind, and while they stifle the voice of conscience, induce the violation of the most affecting duties of life.

It was considered, that while an Omniade remained alive, the power of Azfah was insecure. Their fallen fortunes, their cruel treatment, might awaken the pity and the indignation of the people. It was determined therefore to proceed to their total extermination.

In the sumptuous halls of Abdallah, the Caliph's uncle, a grand festival was proclaimed, to which, in common with



many others, the race of Ommwyah invited, and the unsuspecting vict were seduced by the tones of peace harmony, and by the security which sacredness of Arabian hospitality gave to accept the proffered entertainment. Xiabil the bard or minstrel of Abbassides was shortly introduced into the banquet hall. In his chaunt, he cited his ferocious chieftain to revenge and murder, by recalling the fate Hussein, and the crimes of the C miades. Overcome with fury, the willing Abdallah gave the signal ; eight guests were sacrificed to his base vengeance, their warm and bleeding bodies are reported to have served as the banquet to the remaining partakers of Abdallah's hospitality, and the power of the Abbassides was cemented by the bloody feast.

of Damascus, and by the subsequent dispersion of all its foes. The tombs of the Ommiadan princes were broken, their bones dispersed, their memories accursed, and the hapless remnant of the race prowled in the deep forest or in the unknown glens of that vast empire which his ancestors had acquired by their valour and ennobled by their deeds and victories.\*

\* See the whole story of the fall of the Ommiades in the Arabian Historians. MSS. Escorial, translation ; Cardonne and many others, in D'Herbelot *Bibl. Orientale* ; articles, Abbas, Mervan, Abdallah, &c. &c. and Saffah vel Azfah.

The families of Moahwyah and of Mohammed were of the same tribe, but according to the principles of legitimacy, the throne belonged to the descendants of Fatima, and even the children of Abbas, the uncle of the prophet, had a claim prior to that of Moahwyah.

—Vide Mill's *Mohammedanism*, C. 2.

From the coasts of India to the borders of the Atlantic ocean, and from the rock of Taric to the defiles of the Pyrenees, Asia and Europe had obeyed their sceptre, received their laws, and had sworn obedience to their crown under the powerful energy and aid of their house ; all Arabia had obeyed the commands of their prophet, and had extended her power and his creed ; under the house of Abbas, the pride of the Caliph,

If the exertions of military talents were always crowned with success, Mervan would have retained the throne. In the life of his father he had been governor of Mesopotamia, where the warlike breed of asses who never fly from the enemy, attach to the word ass the popular idea of the perfection of a man. Mervan was honoured with this singular appellation, and his abilities deserved every epithet of praise. Ibid and d'Herbelot, art. Mervan.

the war cry of the Arab, and the standard of the Moslem were destined to wither, to decline, and at last to perish in streams of blood, and in the ruin of dissension, of time, and worldly vicissitude.

## CHAPTER II.

Conspiracy of the noble Scheiks—They nominate Abdalrahman sovereign—He lands at Almuneçar—Battle of Musara—Battle of Lorca and death of Jussuff—Samail put to death—Invasion of Spain by Aly Ben Moqueir—He is defeated and slain—End of the War—Spain invaded by Charlemagne—Is defeated and retires—Death of Abdalrahman—Haschem ascends the throne—The holy war published—Accession of Al-Hakim.

“We recognize your authority,” wrote the Emir Jussuff and the rebellious Amir to the usurper Azfah, “and now swear allegiance to your crown.” Such were the dispatches received at Damascus from the hands of the Spanish courier. The object of the two belligerents was

evident ; for, by so doing, they found means to continue their struggle for power, alike regardless of the troubles of the eastern, or of the misery of the western portions of the Arab empire. But in the Alcazar of Cordova a scene was enacting, equally unknown and unsuspected, that was to develop a power which would lay theirs prostrate in the dust, and terminate the office of Emir and the reign of the Caliphate for ever in Spain. In that council chamber the noble scheiks and elders of the Arabians had met in secret and weighty deliberation ; their object was to terminate the misery and civil wars of the country, and the means proposed was the election of an independent sovereign in Spain. To these the interesting news was communicated, that one royal descendant of Omwyah had

escaped the fury of the Abbassides, and his life and actual circumstances minutely detailed. "Orders arrived," said a noble scheik, "from that cruel Saffah to immolate two Ommiades who had taken up their residence at his court on the faith of his solemn promise to spare and protect them. The one was named Sulman, the other Abdalrahman. The deed was perpetrated on the person of the former, while chance caused the absence and the safety of the latter. Receiving tidings from his friends, Abdalrahman fled to the desert, and lived with the Bedouin Arabs, the safe and wandering life of these primeval tribes. Yet he dreaded the vigilance and the vengeance of the usurper, and therefore retired still further into Africa, where, however, the governor sent out soldiers to seize him person, by the instructions of Saffah and

the description which had been sent of his person throughout the kingdom." In the humble tent of a Bedouin tribe, while the future founder of a splendid kingdom enjoyed the deep repose which he so much needed, the emissaries of the tyrant arrived to demand his person or his death. The holy ties of hospitality were regarded; his benevolent protectors deceived the soldiers with a pretended hunting match in which they declared him occupied; and they sped his flight across the desert of Sahara,\* and to the

\* The tribe of Zaneta and their city, Tahart, have now disappeared from the page of the historian, and from the map of the geographer. It becomes, therefore, difficult, if not impossible, to fix the exact neighbourhood of the refuge of the Ommiade; but, from all the authorities I have been able to obtain, the probability is that the tribe occupied the southern extremity of the Beled-ul-Djerhid, or "Pays de dattes" and at the western extremity of the Sahara, or great



warlike tribe of Zaneta. Here his birth and misfortunes claimed respect and compassion ; and they swore to live for his service or to die in his defence. “ And there,” concluded the orator, “ amidst the Berber tribe of Zaneta, he still resides. I nominate him for our king, the last descendant of our illustrious house the last survivor of our Caliph Haschem Scheiks, I propose to you Abdalrahman as our Emir and our sovereign.”

His nomination was confirmed. Thaman and Wahib Ben Zoar were chosen as deputies to Abdalrahman, and they departed with the utmost secrecy on their eventful mission. In the desert the

desert which separates the states of Timbuctoo from Barbary and the Mediterranean shores.—Vide d’Aville, Géogr. vol. ii, p. 589. Pinkerton’s Geograph p. 590-595. Géographie Descriptive, Malte-Brun, 709, and the opinion of Coridi, vol. i, p. 150.

sought and soon found the Ommiade ; and while they informed him of their object, they did not conceal the difficulties attending its completion. But, assured that the Spanish Arabs were ready to meet him, and uphold his cause, the youthful Abdalrahman consulted with his friends, the Zanites, who implored him to accept the offer, and proposed to form a body guard for his protection. Seven hundred and fifty chosen horsemen were soon in readiness to accompany him, and Abdalrahman signified to the messengers from Cordova his resolution to accede to their proposal.

Meanwhile, fortune had declared for Jussuff, who was now conducting Amer Ben Amrou and his sons prisoners to Cordova. The possession of his rival's person he owed to the fears or the trea-

chery of the people of Saragossa. As <sup>he</sup> approached Cordova, rumour of the com-<sup>m-</sup>ing event reached his ears, and another<sup>er</sup> messenger soon arrived, bringing the<sup>ie</sup> fatal tidings of Abdalrahman's landing<sup>g,</sup> and of the revolution of all the govern-<sup>ment.</sup> Rendered almost frantic, Jussuf<sup>ff</sup> barbarously wreaked his vengeance on<sup>n</sup> Amer and his sons, who expired in tor-<sup>ments ;</sup> and then, after writing to his<sup>ally</sup> Samail, he marched on through va-<sup>rious</sup> parts, to levy and assemble forces.

In the beginning of the year 755, Ab-<sup>dalrahman</sup> landed at Almuneçar, a sea-<sup>port,</sup> about fifteen miles from Granada. An immense concourse of Andalusian nobles, and a countless multitude of the<sup>people,</sup> received the young hero on his<sup>landing,</sup> and loudly cried : " God protect<sup>Abdalrahman</sup> Ben Moawyah, King of<sup>of</sup>

pain!" The noble person and handsome features of the new sovereign, won for him favour on all sides, and the people of the southern provinces flocked in great masses to his standard; 25,000 men, besides his faithful Zanites, accompanied his march from Almuneçar to Seville, into which town he made his entry, amidst universal acclamations. These fearful tidings were received by the astounded Jussuff with the fiercest indignation; and he immediately proceeded to take such measures as would bring the struggle between him and the new pretender to an issue. He attempted to secure Cordova, Valencia, and Tadmorah in their obedience, by sending his three sons respectively to these provinces, while he raised large levies throughout Merida and Toledo. The

misfortunes of Abdalrahman had given him, in youth, the lessons of a sad experience ; and he possessed that important faculty by which an accurate judgment is formed from an intimate knowledge of mankind. He was, therefore, well aware of the difficulties which attended his enterprise ; and he resolved to enlist popular favour in his cause, by the achievement of feats of valour and energy, which, while they excited the admiration of the people, should leave no time for it to subside. After a slight and successful skirmish with the son, he proceeded to attack the father, Jussuff, with an impetuous valour, on the plains of Musara : 7,000 dead were left on the field of battle ; Samail and Jussuff fled in consternation, and the surrender of Cordova crowned the victory of Abdalrahman. The town of Seville followed

the example. The adherents of Jussuff were either discouraged or faithless ; the various towns sent deputies, who were enchanted at their courteous reception ; and while the valour of Abdalrahman obtained successive victories, his manners gained, and his virtues secured, the affections of his subjects.

After vainly attempting to stem the stream of his success, Samail and Jussuff condescended to treat for terms with the Adhagel,\* whom they had at first despised ; their submission easily procured what their valour might long have contested. From Merida the King returned to Cordova, which henceforth became his favourite residence, and which

\* Ad-H'Agèl : implying the intruder, pretender, adventurer.—Vide Lexicon de Sacy, letter Aleph.

he established as his capital. The clemency which he had extended to Jussuff was unable to conciliate or to appease him ; and though Samail accepted office under the King, Jussuff again broke out into rebellion, exciting the people, wherever he passed, till near Lorca he met his defeat and death, after three years of continued tumults and insurrection. The same spirit of revenge, the same desire for sedition, occupied the minds of his children. The generals of Abdalrahman were sent against them, and one was slain in battle. Although clemency was vain, the generous monarch hesitated to shed the blood of the rebels. His kingdom continued to be alarmed and oppressed by revolt, till, at last, a free conspiracy of the ungrateful Samail having been discovered, he was put to death.

in Toledo, about the year 760. The Gothic states of Asturia were governed by Froila, the son of Alphonso : too weak to offer resistance, they proposed a treaty, and submitted to a heavy tribute to the crown of Cordova. The kingdom at this time enjoyed a short peace, which was, however again broken by the rebellion of Hixem, a relation of Jussuff. This commenced at Toledo, and though sustained by the worst portions of the army, employed the forces of the King during many years. A more important event, however, soon occurred. A scheik of the ever-faithful tribe of the Zanites sent word through Temam, the hajib or chamberlain\* to the King, of the projected

\* This office, when first instituted, meant the keeper of the presence chamber, or more properly, master of



invasion of Spain by one Aly Ben Moqueir, Emir of one of the African dependencies, who intended to proclaim once more the name and authority of the Caliph of Bagdad. The arrival of Aly and his abuse of the king, threw the provinces into great excitement, and alienated many from their allegiance; and he marched with a considerable force through many towns, in order to arrive at Toledo.

the curtain or door, but in later times, in Bagdad and Egypt, it became an office of high distinction. In Spain, the ministers or prime Vizirs always held it; and it must, therefore, be understood by the modern reader in quite a different sense from the common word, chamberlain.—Vide, *Cérémonies de l'Orient*, vol ii, p. 73, and *Bib. Or.* vol ii, p. 171. “El Vazir y el Hageb del rey de Corduba,” answers more properly to our terms of Prime Minister and first Lord of the Treasury to the King of Cordova.

where he expected the surrender of that city, from the promises of the seditious Hixem. But before he arrived there, the army of Abdalrahman opposed his further progress. The troops of Aly were totally defeated, himself slain, and his head placed on a pillar in the place of Cordova, proclaimed that thus perished the enemies of Abdalrahman, the successor of the Ommiades.

The lingering siege of Toledo was successfully put an end to by the skill and energy of Temam. The successor of the Goth Froila had attempted to infringe the treaty and refuse payment of the tribute. A decisive engagement with the royal forces induced him to adopt a more politic course ; and on payment of the required sum into the treasury of Cordova, the treaty was renewed, and peace

re-established. A rebellious spirit set still to prevail, which proved alike instability of the government, and remains of a faction not yet annihilated. The valour of Abdalrahman, however, the faithful energy of his Zanites, the persevering constancy of his generals Tamam and Abdalmalec, proved too strong for any adventurer to gain or lasting advantages.

The most celebrated of these leaders Abulgafar, attempted to seize Toledo; the sagacity of Abdalmalec prevented success, and on the banks of the Guadalquivir, near Seville, he gave battle to the rebel, and defeated him. Abdalrahman was here seriously wounded; and Abdalrahman, wearied of these repeated rebellions, resolved at once to terminate them. He marched, therefore, in person against

insurgents, and met them on the field of Lorca. A fierce contest ensued ; Abdalrahman was crowned with victory, and a long and tedious warfare ended, after six years' duration, in the death of Abdoul-gafar, and those of many others of the party henceforth extinct.

Thus was the new sovereignty of Spain confirmed. Circumstances, it must be allowed, had favoured the cause. First, the unsettled power of the Abassides, and their continual struggle for dominion, rendered them both unwilling and unable to give attention or assistance to the distant province of Andalouz. Abdalrahman had, for a time, feared the power of the emirs of Africa ; but his alarms must soon have been appeased and dispersed by the state of that continent, in which every petty governor was aiming at inde-

pendence, and either contending against each other, or rebelling against the authority of the caliphs. The seat of the central government had also been changed. The Abassides hated Damascus as the choice of the rival house, perhaps as the theatre of their own atrocities ; and they had removed to the city of Bagdad, on the remote banks of the Tigris, and this added to the difficulty of governing Spain. Secondly, Abdalrahman had come into a land where the valour and the name of his family had always been held in high estimation ; where the leading nobles brought every old prejudice enlisted in his favour, and where the people, tired out with the furious madness of civil war, hailed him not only as the sovereign, but as the saviour, of their country. The war having thus far terminated, Abdalrahman

retired to Cordova, where the cares of private life, the charms of domestic affection, and the noble occupation of public embellishments and improvement filled up the measure of his time.

From the favourite Sultana, Havara, he had his youngest son, Hâschem ; two other sons, Suliman and Abdalla, composed the monarch's family. The eldest was sent to learn the rudiments of good government in Toledo ; the second was dispatched to Merida, for the same purpose, while Haschem, endeared to his father by his simplicity and his virtues, shared the pleasures of the palace, and enjoyed the advantages of the capital. In the enjoyment of the chace, or in his retirement amidst the luxuriant gardens of Cordova, the King forgot, in the arts of peace, the stern excitement of war, and

the desolating effects of even victory. From this happy dream, of four years duration, Abdalrahman I. was awakened by the trumpet of a new, a foreign and an unexpected invader. Charlemagne, King of the Franks, appeared on the heights of the Pyrenees, whence descended, with a numerous horde, to the banks of the Ebro, sweeping all opposition before him, and laying waste the fertility of that district.

The motives for his strange appearance have been variously stated ; the petition of some emirs to the King to render them independent, has been supposed and asserted ; the complaints of the Gallic christians have been assigned as cause ; while the greater probability in the warlike character of Charlemagne and the roving life of plunder so much

loved and followed by the Franks. But, whatever might have been his motives, **his** success was negative : after performing the Spanish march, he again retired from Spain. Mussulman and Christian, Asturian and Gascon, equally rose against **him** ; and in the passes near Roncevaux **his** army was defeated, and the Spaniards **won** back the vast spoils with which the **Franks** had enriched themselves during **their** excursion from the Pyrenees to the **Ebro**.

The expedition itself is now a subject of little or no importance. Whether Charles was called by some party into Spain, or whether his love of activity and pillage led him there, is now a point totally uninteresting ; and excepting that Roncevalles and the fall of Rolando, or Orlando, have furnished both Arab and



Christian with the theme of chivalry romance, the march and retreat were probably both have been forgotten. Spaniards\* are too proud of a victory which history ascribes to the Gascons and romance to the Saracens. The ruins of Palmyra derive a casual splendor from the nakedness of the surrounding desert, and the genius and braver Charlemagne were the more conspicuous since they were without a rival in their own times, and were a wondrous contrast to the tame imbecility of his degenerate posterity.†

\* Fall and Decline, vol. ix. p. 177.

† For this, as well as the general events of the succeeding chapters, the reader may consult Pilling, Hist. Gener. Mariana, Historia Hispan. Longosta, Hist. d'Espagne. Casiri, Bib. Arab. Eben Maus MSS. 371-383. Bib. du Roi. K.

The last band of the christians had hardly disappeared among the gorges of the Pyrenees ere Abdalrahman regained possession of Zaragossa and other northern towns of Spain, and everywhere re-established order and law. Called by the request of the uncle of Alphonso, he interfered to arrange the rival pretensions of Maragottos\* and his nephew, and aided by a partiality which it was hardly possi-

No. 383, *ibidem*, and Conde, *Los Arabes en España*, with the agreeable history of Cardonne, *de la Domination des Arabes en Afrique et en Espagne*, Gibbon's *Fall and Decline*, vol. x., and at times the eloquent but too partial narration of the Archbishop of Toledo.

\* The Maragottos here mentioned was the offspring of mixed parents, and hence, perhaps, his name, Maurogothos; and hence certainly the partiality of Abdalrahman.

ble for his justice to repress, he decided for the former, who entered into treaty already existing, paying the tribute to the king, and thereby maintaining peace. The sparks of revolt, again kindled by the last remnants of the expelled faction of Jusseff, Samail and their adherents, were quenched by the skill and energy of Abdalrahman and his generals. The foreign invader was successfully repulsed, the domestic traitors effectually exterminated. Thus, the remainder of the monarch's life was rendered happy and, occupied with the internal politics of the state, and the general happiness of his people, Abdalrahman enjoyed the serenity of peace in the close of an eventful reign. Agriculture was resumed, public confidence was gradually re-established, and the name of Omwiy

descendant deserved and received the blessings of his people. The laws were modified, extended, and consolidated, the roads were re-opened, and fully maintained, a greater number of magistrates added to the municipality of the towns, and a vast plan for public instruction suggested and commenced. The religion of the state was endowed with numerous mosques, and the institution of a body of readers, or expounders of the Koran, were attached to each temple. Emulous of the mosque of Bagdad, Abdalrahman resolved to rival it by a similar erection in his favourite city. His energy and humility were conspicuously displayed, ince he drew out the plan, and worked every day at its construction with his own hands. The son of his faithful general, Abdalmalec, had the credit of

destroying some rebel bands, and the King condescended to bestow on him the hand of his grand-daughter, the child of his favourite, Haschem. The marriage of Abdallah and Kathira was celebrated in Cordova with the greatest splendour and the inhabitants entertained for many days, with a brilliant succession of feasts and tournaments.

The sagacious mind of Abdalrahman foresaw all the dangers which his people would incur, in case of his death happening without his having fixed a successor to his throne. In a constitutional monarchy the laws would have called the eldest son to the crown, and, in default then the next by priority of birth ; but in the despotic government of the East the throne was filled by election, and the customs of Asia were respected and

lowed by the Arabs of Spain. Under these circumstances Abdalrahman yielded to his own predilection in favour of Haschem. He nominated him as his successor ; and in an assembly of all the provincial governors, convoked in Cordova, he obtained a ratification of the act. Among them were seen Suleiman and Abdalla, who testified neither surprise nor resentment at the proceeding. The king then left Cordova for Merida, leaving Abdalla as his lieutenant at the former city. The struggles of his early life, the anxieties of government, and the harassing events of his reign, had undermined his health. Thirty years Abdalrahman held the sceptre of Spain, and his death (in 787 or 788) was deeply regretted by all its inhabitants. The greatest honours were paid to his memory, and a large concourse

followed the remains and mourned the national loss, from the walls of Merida to the sepulchre of the kings at Cordova.

\* The year which announced death to Abdalrahman beheld the rise of Edris Ben Abdalla, a descendant of Ali, (the son-in-law of Mohammed), and the founder of the capital of Fez and the empire of Morocco. The Edressah family reigned for upwards of a century and counted among its honours not the least, the possession of the erudite Sherif Al-Edrissi, whose ample work on Geography and descriptions of countries enjoyed a high and lasting reputation. Casiri, Cardonne, and D'Herbelot, vol. i, p. 624-6. The confusion (and it must indeed be great) which arises in the reader's mind when he peruses the names of the provinces and cities of Spain, as given by the Arabians, and compares them with either the Gothic or Spanish appellations, may find some relief by a study of the detailed account of that country given by the Sherif, and translated into Spanish and ably annotated by Conde, in 1 vol. 8vo. Madrid 17 Aledris, Bib. du roi.

The Khotbah\* was pronounced for Haschem, who ascended his father's throne, and appeared determined to follow in his footsteps. Temperance, humanity, and a love of justice were the characteristics of the new sovereign, which acquired for him the honourable titles of Al-Hadi-Rhadi, the just and

\* After the morning service in the mosque, the preacher delivered his khotbah, or sermon; at the conclusion, he offered up praise to God, celebrated and blessed the memory of the Prophet, and offered up a prayer for the reigning sovereign, saying: "O Allah, protect and prosper our caliph, and thy people, who by thy grace had Mohammed for their Prophet." This formed the khotbah, and the performance at the accession of a new sovereign was customary. Thus, we see Saffah, the founder of the Abassides, hearing the khotbah, as one of the first marks of public sovereignty. Vide Bib. Orientale, vol. ii, p. 448-449, and vol. iii, p. 152.



good "Hæres." But while all seemed to augur a peaceful and a prosperous reign, the brothers of Haschem, Suleiman and Abdalla, raised the standard of independence, and assumed the right of exercising, in their own provinces of Toledo and Merida, the qualities of sovereigns. An amiable weakness in the brother triumphed, for a time, over the justice of the prince, and the two were allowed to concert, to conspire, to rebel. At length, in the valley of Buktar, Suleiman and Haschem met to try their respective force, and the defeat and flight of Suleiman confirmed the power of the king. Again the king united with the banditti of the mountains, and was again defeated by the faithful Abdallah, the son-in-law of Haschem. Another attempt to raise a pe-

in his favour was equally fruitless ; and the authority of the king being generally respected, and his forces everywhere victorious, compelled Suleiman to accept the offer of large sums of "peace money," and to retire to Tangiers. The momentary excitement, caused by these revolts, soon subsided, and the different lieutenants of the King, from time to time, entered Cordova with all the ensigns of victory.

In the recent division of Spain, Abdallah had ceased to enumerate the province of the Narbonese Gaul ; and thus, at a sacrifice of his own vanity, had preserved the peace of his people. But the idea of retaking northern Spain, and the towns of the Narbonne, now inflamed the mind of Haschem. In order to effect this object, large armies

were indispensable, and to procure resources there was but one mode. chem published the Alighed, or holy At the hour of prayer, from the Ima pulpit, in every mosque throughout superb dominions of the Ommiades proclamation resounded, and a general enthusiasm answered to the King's wish while those who were disabled, from infirmities or other causes, from enlist under the holy standard, contributed money, horses, and supplies for the use of the faithful, on this solemn occasion. Vain were the attempts to discover the true motives were in this proceeding. Two hundred years after this period the historian smiles while he relates the enthusiastic folly, when the R Imaum unfurled his banner ; yet he states the pretext then urged, h

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be at no loss to account for the motive.

But the enthusiasm of the Moslem has ever been more conspicuous and his fanaticism more persevering than those of the children of the cross, and we may perhaps believe that a religious fervour only inspired the King and people, yet cooler reflection leads to the more rational conclusion that the policy of Haschem was to inflame the ardour of the Arabs against foreign enemies, and thus to extinguish the brand of civil discord in the purer flame of national glory, and religious enthusiasm.

A body of 85,000 men in two divisions marched northwards in the cause, one half to attack the Asturians, the other to invade the Pyrenees. The latter was

The army of the ~~As~~  
first successful; Galicia was ravage~~d~~,  
Leon was invaded, and the Go~~th~~s  
fearfully alarmed; the feeble son ~~of~~  
Friola divided the throne of the Spanis~~h~~  
Christians with an aged uncle or relation.  
The warriors of Asturias called for Al-  
phonso to lead them to the conquest, and  
he answered to their summons. At his  
appearance the scene was considerably  
changed: by his skill and bravery the  
royal troops were harassed, and if not  
defeated, at length forced to retire, and  
the Goths regained possession of all the  
booty seized.

The son in-law of Haschem had greater  
success among the Pyrenean mountains.

**The** successful siege of Girona attested **his** skill and activity but the seizure of Narbonne, was followed by a barbarous slaughter of its inhabitants, and a general devastation of the surrounding country. These severe measures served only to exasperate the Narbonnese ; they all rose to repulse so cruel and so formidable an enemy, and the fierce battle of Carcassonne, though decided in the Arab's favour led to no further result, since he instantly returned into Spain. The enormous booty, which amounted to more than one million sterling, was devoted to the works of the great Mosque at Cordova, and the prudent Haschem disgusted with a holy war, put down the Alighed, and gave all his attention to cultivate the arts of peace and the noble science of augmenting his people's prosperity.

Now, perhaps for the first time since Taric landed on the rock of Spain, the kingdom enjoyed the fruits of good government in a time of peace, and under a prince, whose virtues, sagacity, and love of justice were so conspicuous. The city of Cordova began to show marks of that future splendour which she was afterwards destined to possess. The palaces, the gardens, the new streets, the mint,\* the library, the great bridge,

\* The money coined at the Cordova mint was the same as that struck at Damascus. The coin bore the inscription "Allah is God—and there is but one God," and on the reverse the words "In the name of Allah, this piece was struck in Andalousia," &c. Vide Casiri, Conde, and Numismatic memoirs of the east. Bib. du roi, vol. 2.

"Up to this year," says Richardson, 695, "the receipts and disbursements of the treasury of the

all had been repaired, augmented, or reconstructed ; and Haschem finished the labours which his father had commenced by completing the grand Mosque. This noble monument of the Spanish capital,\* was 600 feet long by 250 wide, 1500 pillars of polished marble supported its stupendous roof, and nineteen doors of bronze, of the most exquisite workmanship, formed the grand entrance. At

Caliphs were written in the Greek tongue, and the coins were invariably with Greek inscriptions, and the Persian coins of the Ashcaman or Arsacidæ had also Greek inscriptions which were probably introduced by Alexander or his successors." Dissertation, p. 64.

\* For a more minute description see Casiri, Cardonne, and Ximenes Roderick. "Nul autre peuple que les Arabes n'aurait pu concevoir ou exécuter de pareils ouvrages," says Millot speaking of their Mosque.—H. U.



night, upwards of 6000 silver lamps with sweet scented oil, diffused a fume and a holy radiance throughout the vast structure, and the sanctum or sanctuary of the Imaum was of massed gold.

The King also brought water into the parts of the city by the erection of monumental fountains, while the construction of canals spread around health and general utility. Schools for the Arabic language were founded in many cities of the kingdom, and the people were commanded or persuaded to acquire a knowledge of its rich and harmonious dialect, to abandon the bald latinity, rude remnant of a former age. Yet while Hascid so greatly encouraged the elegant and the useful, he did not forget those institutions which contribute to the main

ance of justice and good will among a nation.

The laws were most impartially administered, and the King gave, in his own instance, a striking example,\* while he followed up his father's wise policy by encouraging to the utmost the intermarriage of his Arabian and Christian subjects. The remainder of his virtuous life

\* They proposed to the prince to buy a property which was up for public competition ; but Haschem refused, fearful that the appearance of his factors might depress competition, and injure the proprietor, and Haschem inspired by this act of justice, gave vent to his feelings in a poetic effusion where he declares his love for gardens and flowers, yet avows that his people far take precedence in his soul. Vide Casiri, Cardonne, and for the verses, Conde, *Los Arabes en España* vol 1, and the appendix to these vols.

was spent in the calm contemplation of the past, the present, and the future, and his hours of relaxation were employed in the innocent pastime of gardening and botany. An astrologer is reported to have warned him, in the ambiguous language of prophecy, of his approaching death. Although Hasohem might have doubted the art of the magician, he could not deny the chances of humanity, and remembering the wise conduct of his father on a parallel occasion, he established, as his successor, his son Al-Hakim. After this event, his health sensibly diminished, and when at last warned of the approach of the silent and relentless foe, he composed his mind for the change about to take place and eased his conscience by delivering the following discourse to his son :

“ May the advice of a father be listened to. O my beloved son, the kingdoms of this world belong to God, from whom we receive all things ; may we conform to his wish, may we act up to his laws, for therefore are we placed in high authority. May thy impartial justice bless and protect thy people, and may thy ministers fear to use thy name as a shield for any iniquity ; be gentle, be merciful, for thus is God. Let the choice of thy governors be guided by thy knowledge of their able virtues, and be mindful to resent all injuries done to thy people by their or their agent’s means. In the army preserve a strict, yet mild discipline, and beware the extremes of ferocity and weakness ; the one will induce the hatred of thy soldier, the other, his contempt.

“ Be above all things assured of this

great maxim, that a man only really is a king when he reigns in the hearts of his people. Where he is a tyrant or a fool, there will be civil discord or general insecurity ; but that throne based on the affections of the subject is built upon a rock against which the arts of the wicked traitor, the arms of the stranger shall never avail.

“ Protect agriculture and all classes of thy industrious people, and so live, that thy numerous subjects may rest secure beneath the shadow of thy throne, and in the full enjoyment of property and peace ; they and their children’s children may bless my son Al-Hakim’s name.”

Such were the virtuous precepts of the expiring Haschem, and if not superior they are at least equal to any that are so

highly vaunted, either in a Pagan or a Christian age.

The year 796 completed the life of Haschem, and his son ascended his throne to prove the strength which these admirable maxims had on his conduct and to run his destined course. Whatever might have been the result, had the good fortune and peaceful reign of his father been accorded to the new monarch it is impossible to determine; since, a series of intestine feuds and rebellions, and a persevering war which ravaged and alarmed the frontiers commenced at the death of Haschem, and continued to that of his son.

The two uncles of the King were no sooner apprized of his accession, than they once more raised the standard of revolt. Suleiman assembled a large

force of barbarians at Tangiers, and sailed immediately for the Spanish coast, while Abdalla, in his government of Seville, by corrupting the integrity of the Wali obtained possession of that province.

The valour and the youth of Al-Hakim saw these proceedings without dismay and vigorously prepared to defeat them. But, while marching for this purpose he received tidings of the recapture of various towns in the Narbonne, and deeming this of more importance, he hastened in person to the frontiers. His presence changed the scene; in a succession of the most rapid and gallant manœuvres he regained the whole of the towns seized by the Christians, and returned loaded with booty and slaves. Leaving one of his generals to act in check on the frontier operations, he appeared with the

rapidity of lightning before Toledo ; he thus astounded and alarmed his enemies while he soon after overthrew their pretensions and their hopes in a pitched battle.

Suleiman and Abdalla escaped into Valencia, where they busied themselves in again collecting forces to maintain their cause.

But their nephew allowed them no respite, he arrived in Murcia, sought them out, and by a signal defeat, dispersed their army ; and while the death of Suleiman confirmed the power of Al Hakim, the tears he shed on his uncle's body attested the natural goodness of his heart. Abdalla sued for and easily obtained pardon ; he was advised to retire in honourable exile to Tangiers, while his two sons Esfah and Casim were received at



the monarch's court, whose generosity obliterated the past by bestowing on his cousin the hand of his sister Alinska.

The war of the frontiers still continued. The brave leader of the Asturians, Alfonso, had sought the assistance of Charlemagne, and the son of that hero, Louis, known to history only by the surname of Debonnaire, headed the Franks on this expedition. Partial success attended his operations : the assistance of almost all the great Arab generals, and the treachery of one, Maklo, enabled them to ravage the Barcelonn territory, to capture Gironne and Tortosa, and, at length, Barcelona itself. The King advanced against them, to terminate the expedition. He prudently provided for the safety of the towns

through which he passed on his route, and then proceeded to the seat of war. His army, however, fought few battles, and Al-Hakim was contented by the defeat and execution of Maklouh, whose treason had so much contributed to the success of the Franks. Thence the King returned to Cordova, without even approaching Barcelona.

Joussouff, the son of Amrou, one of the royal generals, had been entrusted with the Waliship of the fickle Toledo, and had, as much from inexperience, as from any other cause, incurred the hatred of the citizens ; for, confounding the innocent with the guilty, he had at length pushed his severity so far, that the populace rose tumultuously against him, and seized his person. Their urgent petition to the King occasioned the necessity of

Joussouff's removal to the smaller town of Tudela ; and he was replaced as War by the greater experience of his father Amrou. The new governor watched for and seized the earliest opportunity revenging this insult on the Toledans. Four hundred inhabitants were sacrificed to his malignant revenge ; and the names of Amrou and Al-Hakim were joined to the common curse. The city of Merida experienced some agitation at the disgrace of Esfah, who at this period seemed to have incurred the anger of his cousin ; but the affection of a wife and the influence of a sister, in this instance, prevailed, and public order and domestic peace were shortly restored.

From this epoch, however, the character and the occupations of Al Hakim underwent an entire and inexplicable

change. Although war still raged on the Gallician and the Narbonnese frontiers, we see him no more commanding his armies, or heading the assault. The youthful Abdalrahman, his son, figured in his place ; his success was brilliant, rapid, and continuous ; and, although Catalonia was at last lost to the Arabian power, yet Narbonne, Gironne and many important places, were won back, by his victorious arms, to the crown of Cordova. Al-Hakim had retired to that city. On his arrival, his suspicions had been alarmed by the details of a serious conspiracy against his throne and life ;\* and three hundred executions, which took place in that capital, were deemed neces-

\* Laid before the King by Casim, who had, during his absence, been appointed governor of Cordova.

sary to secure his safety, or to satiate his vengeance. The alarmed people forgot their respect for the prince in the indignant hatred at the tyrant, whenceforth plunged in sensuality, indulged the impulses of his gloomy suspicions by the continual slaughter of his subjects.

Abdalrahman was publicly declared heir to the crown, and his cousins, Ead and Casim, were the first to swear fidelity to him. The young prince continued to be the support of his father's power, the commander of his armies, and the defender of the kingdom. In order to raise his dignity, or provide for his safety, a body guard was formed for him, and to render their fidelity more secure a fixed pay was ordained to them. The method of raising this sum was by a tax

exactly similar to the Octroi.\* This mode was an innovation, and excited great murmurs among the rich and thriving inhabitants of Cordova.† A

\* By laying a tax on all articles of consumption on entering the gates of the city. It was then, and is now, a mode of contribution universally hated. The system of the French octroi is at once paltry, irritating and obnoxious; and Cordova is not the only place and kingdom where this tax has raised angry feelings and tumultuous demonstrations.

† Perhaps the greater part of the crimes of the early Cæsars arose from their having to support a large power and a luxurious establishment, with very limited means. Murder was the only ways and means allowed the Emperors; and as only the rich fell, and their spoils were divided among the princes and the people, these latter in that monstrous age cared little how, so they enjoyed their shows. A philosopher of that period might have calculated with nicety the number of murders in each reign by the virtuous economy or luxurious expenditure of the Emperor. A

politic prince would have tim-  
ceded, but Al-Hakim evinced  
love of despotism, by ordering to  
most seditious to be executed. .  
of these unfortunate victims was  
by the populace, and both the  
suburbs revolted in open mutir  
vengeance of Al-Hakim knew no  
The streets of Cordova run wit  
the suburbs were given up to  
pillage ; and the infuriated d  
length terminated the horrid sce  
enactment so monstrous, that we

new tax also, in despotic governments, an  
on the inhabitants of the capital, has rarel  
cessful ; and when the wily Augustus att  
legacy tax, all concurred that it was  
failure. See the erudite dissertation on t  
Tacitus, by Dureau de la Malle, vol. i,  
Roederer, vol. ii, Depping, Hist. Générale

well authenticated, it would not be deemed credible, and for which insanity can plead the only excuse. Al-Hakim gave orders, "that all the inhabitants of the ill fated suburbs should quit for ever their homes, taking with them their families!"\* The exiles of Cordova "wandered, in pursuance of this cruel mandate, in search of a home and of a resting place." Toledo received some, eight to ten thousand of them accepted the offer of the Emir of Morocco, and the new Fez received the children of the Mosarabians, and the industrious subjects of Al-Hakim.† Some adventured

\* Arab. MSS. of Toledo, translated, No. 1873 B.  
Bib. du Roi.

† The Edrissites were a sagacious family, and knew how to profit by the madness of another. A reflection will occur, in viewing the fierce and inexplicable



on the ocean, and the conquest of Crete is due to their valour and enterprize.\*

The maniac who had caused the disaster, passed the wretched remainder

of his life in the pursuit of vengeance of Al-Hakim—and that is, that he must have been urged and excited by treachery. Casim was the governor of the city; from him the King learnt all, and though he was bound by the ties of gratitude, by his oath, and by relationship, Abdu might write and suggest that were Al-Hakim removed, Esfah might reign, or the claims of Casim strong on the suffrages of the nobles.

\* Cardonne, Novaire. They sailed in twenty galleys, and therefore, says Gibbon, this warfare must be branded with the name of piracy! Their chief was Abou Kab, or Cahab. They first pitched their camp in the bay of Suda; but led on by an apostate monk to the more desirable and eastern part of the island, their fortress Candax extended to the whole island, under the corrupt and modern appellation Candia.—Vol x. c. 51, Fall and Decline, Depping.

his days in the passions of sensuality, fear, and frenzy; the torments of his mind allowed him no rest, and the disturbed fancies of his guilty conscience undermined his health, and prostrated his mortal strength. Life dragged on a heavy and unceasing curse, till the miserable and misguided sovereign found at length that relief in death, as acceptable to himself as the news of it proved to be to his terrified, indignant, and alienated people.

## CHAPTER III.

Abdalrahman II ascends the throne—Abdallah's rebellion and death—Frontier War—Rebellions in Merida and Toledo—Norman pirates—Mohammed Ben Abdalrahman's accession—Religious sects—Omar Ben Haffsoun the Bandit—Peace with the Asturians—Sudden death of Mohammed—Almondhir's reign and death—Abdallah.

SPONTANEOUS fetes proclaimed the happiness of the Spanish Arabs, and welcomed Abdalrahman II to the throne. The favourite of the army by his valour, of the people by his kind heart and upright mind, and highly gifted by nature and education, he seemed destined to rule with vigorous justice, and to embellish his reign with all that was eminent in arts or sciences. Poets, musicians, physicians and astronomers flocked to th

palace of Cordova, where the young monarch welcomed them with honour, and entertained them with liberality, and where they received a still higher pleasure in feeling that their works were justly appreciated, and their importance duly acknowledged. The state of the capital, at this period, was one of great splendour and much interest. In a city, whose natural situation was most lovely,\*

\* Cordoba, situated within five to six miles of the lateral chain of the Sierra Morena, stands on the Guadalquivir, and in the heart of one of the richest tracts of land, both for culture, pasturage, and minerals, in Europe. The climate, otherwise sultry, is refreshed by the mountain breezes. The Arabians built immense fortifications, which still remain, and the great mosque, now the catholic cathedral, attests the magnitude of their designs and execution. The walls of the latter are encrusted with verses from the Koran, which are regarded by the present age with

the palaces of the king and of the chieftains nobility vied with each other in elegance and design, while the mosques and public buildings, interspersed with large and richly cultivated gardens, extended

an ignorant disdain. Corduba, so called by the Romans, and Corthobah by the Arabs, was ever a place of great importance in Spain, and in those remote times was the scene of a certain magnificence, since we find Scapula, who revolted against Sextus Pompeius (A. U. C. 709), resided some time in this town where he displayed his riches and his *taste* in feasting on gold plates, and drinking from *gold* cups filled with *beer*, and wine mixed with spikenard and roses. Cordova is the country of the two Seneca, and their relation, the author of the *Pharsalia*. Of Averroes, Avicenna, and the christian soldier Hernando called Gonsalvo de Cordova.—Vide Danville, vol. p. 209. Al Edris, p. 113. Strabo, Lib. 3. Ptolemy, p. 138. Malte-Brun, Géogr. Descript. 503. Bibl. Or., vol. 1, p. 545.

over a vast surface, added health and cheerfulness to the scene. The well paved streets, the highly-carved and salubrious fountains, the noble aqueducts, and the marble edifices struck the pleased beholder with surprise, nor was he less astonished at the affluence of the court than at the easy prosperity of the citizens. In the interior of that court the arts of music and sculpture, poetry, and history, and the abstruse sciences were cultivated with assiduity and success. The celebrated El Lahti (the learned Andalouz, as he was styled in the East from whence he had just returned) was the friend of Abdalrahman, and the tutor of his sons. The skill of the master was proved in the excellence of the scholars, who received with pride, and displayed with equal

ability the offices of poet and orator  
the funerals of their illustrious race\*.

But from the midst of these elegant  
and honourable occupations which, when  
they add to the enjoyment, increase the  
utility of life, Abdalrahman was sur-  
moned to the harsh sound and pestiferous  
atmosphere of war and rebellion. In the  
city of Tangiers the aged Abdallah still  
lived to dream of visions of greatness  
which he was never destined to enjoy  
and to concert schemes of invasion and

\* Conde, vol. 1, p. 278. Bibl. Or., vol. 2,  
531. Owing to the suggestions of Laiti, the  
lashed Abdalrahman invited Zeriab, the famous mu-  
sician of Persia, over to Spain, and founded a school  
music in Cordova, and a band for the palace, which  
was carefully fostered by his successors.—Vide C  
donne, tome 1, p. 283-5. Conde and Casiri, *E*  
*Arab. Hisp.*

conquest, if not for himself, for the grandeur of his family. The clemency of his nephew had been forgotten, the "peace money," received from the generous father was now employed to destroy the authority of the son, and Abdallah reappeared in Spain with his usual pretexts of the rights of birth,\*

\* This right, among the Asiatics, was purely imaginary, among the Mussulman contrary to the law and practice of the Prophet. The Arabs and the Franks have equally entertained the law of election as the symbol of national liberty, and both may have found in practice that it was the root of tyranny. For, after all, as has been remarked by Gibbon, "the acknowledged right of birth extinguishes the hopes of faction, and its conscious security disarms the cruelty of the monarch. To the firm establishment of this idea we owe the peaceful succession of our European monarchies. To the defect of it, we must attribute those frequent civil wars through which an Asiatic



and of justice for himself and fair promises for the ears of the populace. Backed by the Berbers and the band of Africa and Andalouz, he again raised his standard. The royal legions of Cadova met him in Valencia, defeated, and forced him to retire to the city of the province, and there the feeble old man had recourse to the special invocation of heaven, to decide the justice of the cause. The credulity or the vanity the Arabian historians give us to understand that his vows were heard: at the end of his prayer he was struck suddenly to the earth, and the fit of madness or enthusiasm was construed by dispirited followers as the answer from

despot is obliged to cut his way to the throne of fathers." Vol. 1, p. 271. F and D.

**God.** Abdallah acquiesced, and rising, cried: "O Allah! I resign myself to thy decrees;" and the news of his submission was eagerly carried to the King. At his court, Esfah and Casim had appeared as intercessors for their father, the mind of Abdalrahman was generous, the submission of Abdallah seemed sincere, and to the pardon which was extended to him, was added an oblivion of his past life by a mark of confidence in his remaining days, since he was given Tadmorah, with the power, during his own life, of exclusive sovereignty in that province. Abdallah died the following year, and the King seized that occasion to invest the property of his great uncle in the hands of his children, and to make that important law, which allowed hereditary succession to children, release of dowry

to widows, and the right of testate bequeath away one third of their property to any stranger they might select\*.

The war on the frontiers had commenced. The Christians had at the moment of intestine commotion among the Arabs to push the frontiers, and extended their conquests to the North. But the activity of

\* Arab MSS. of Toledo. *Leges Hisp.* Bib. du Roi. The succession of children in inheritance, was no dangerous innovation; on the contrary Abdalrahman would have established it in his own family. The second was an old acknowledged custom among the Arabs. (Vide Richardson's Dissertation Sect. 2, p. 331-2. The third was a just enactment. It does not appear that *movable* property descended to the children of Abdalrahman. Vide *Leg. Hisp.*

rahman defeated their views. He appeared at Tortosa, forced the enemy to retire within the walls of Barcelona, besieged, and took that city, and then pursued the fugitives to the Pyrenees. Hence he returned to Cordova with the ensigns and the fruits of victory. Obeidalla, the youngest son of Abdallah atoned for the conduct of his father by his services of fidelity in the field. Invested with the command, he led the royal forces against the Asturians and Navarese, and obtained many decisive advantages, and in the battle of Pampe-luna he gained so complete a victory, that he sent the generals of the enemy prisoners to Cordova as proofs of his valour and success. The five following years were employed by Obeidalla in checking the aggressions of the frontier,

by Abdalrahman in the prosecution of the arts, sciences, and works of public utility, and by the factious in fomenting discontent, exciting discussions and tumults, and successfully preparing the provinces for long and open rebellion. The great cities of Spain were governed by two officers in the King's name, *the* Wali\*, or governor of the province, and

\* Besides the Wali and the Wazir, the other offices seem to have been in the civil administration of affairs: the Wazir Medini or councillor of state in the capital, of which there were many, and indeed all the King's immediate ministers, were Wazirs. The Cadi or Alcaide, whose name and office still exist at this day in Spain, the Fakhirs or Faquirs, jurisconsults, and doctors of law, the Mollahs or moderators of the assembly of the preachers. The Imam or head of the assembly of the preachers, and the Khathihs or Chetibs preachers and expounders in the mosques. In the military department, we find the Al Hadi or

the Wazir or Lieutenant of the city, which last if the Wali was forced to absent himself, ruled in both for the time. Each new king, at his accession, always confirmed or annulled the list of governors throughout the kingdom, and in the latter case nominated fresh ones. The most important duties of the Walis were to raise, "as by royal ordinances," the taxes from each province, and to remit such portions of them as were decreed by law to the King's exchequer at Cordova. They were enjoined

heir to the throne, who was generally commander-in-chief of the land forces, the grand admiral, the Emirs or generals of the armies by sea and land, and the subordinate grades.—Vid Bibl. Or. Passim. Casiri, Cardonne, Escorial MSS. *El Gamri*. Bib. du Roi, Conde, Ascargota. *Dynastics d'Abulpharge Latine Pocock, &c.*

to reside constantly in their government ~~ts~~, (unless specially summoned to the capital, or to join the holy standard in war), and to give their best attention to the administration of the province, according to the special or general policy of an Asiatic Government.

As this was despotic in Cordova, it was equally so in all the other great towns, such as Toledo, Merida, Saragossa, Murcia and Lisbon, and as the people knew not how to distinguish the measures ordained by the central government, from those which sprung from the caprice or inability of the Wali, they must have evidently been in a better or worse position, according to the good or evil character of their officer. Although in Cordova, the people were from the presence of the court and the privileges of a

capital in general loyal and contented, the provincial cities were subject to oppression, corruption, and constant revolt. Each city was also castellated or fortified, and this, though an advantage, as far as general security was concerned, was, when intestine commotion prevailed, a great and growing evil. It gave a discontented emir every facility to rebel, and offered every obstacle to the suppression of revolt. The wise suggestions of different statesmen to dismantle the towns, had been often and vainly repeated. The Spanish monarchs disregarded the advice, and either from prejudice or some undefined fears, refused to allow the destruction of these strongholds, thus seeming to prefer repressing the recurrence of civil war, by force of arms, to checking it by a sagacious poli-



cy. This mistake and its results al fatal to King and people, continued prevail, and the Christian enemies of the Arab, seizing each occasion with happy ability, at last succeeded in suppressing the creed and the banner of the Prophet throughout the Peninsula. The lenient policy of the Arabians after victory had allowed, from the commencement, the exercise of their religious faith and worldly professions to their Christian subjects by the former privilege these had become cemented into one body, which grew in riches, strength, and spirit by the enjoyment of the latter. The followers of Moses, also a large and influential class had suffered to a great extent in this point, where they have ever been most sensitive, and their skill in amassing riches had been too often abused by th

violence with which it had been wrested from them. These two powerful bodies were therefore always ready to lend their assistance to the factious; and the discontented Wali was sure of their aid to foment and keep up rebellion, and all these elements of discord combined, now appeared in array against the power of Abdalrahman II.

Mohammed Ben Abdoulgabar headed the people of Merida in a violent assault on the authorities of the town, in which the houses of the magistrates were broken into, and themselves sacrificed to popular fury. The King's governor retired in haste, and the factious Abdoulgabar entrenched in the fortifications of that splendid city, flattered himself in that position and with the aid of all the bandits of the neighbourhood, he might

wait the arrival of the royal troops, contest and overturn the power of the sovereign. The King instantly sent Abdalrouf one of his generals with the Algarve legions to suppress the mutiny. The inflated vanity of Mohammed induced him to defy all terms of submission, and the siege had been long and doubtful, had not the good sense of the citizens put an end to it and reestablished the King's authority.

They sent six of their eminent men to treat the terms of capitulation; the strictest orders had been given by the King not to pillage or injure either person or property. In silence, the legions of Abdalrouf entered the gates, and with the most rigid discipline; they obeyed the orders of their general and ere twelve hours had passed, 700 bodies of the

rebels lay dead in the streets, while order and peace reigned undisputed in Merida. This was immediately followed by a similar explosion in Toledo, where private revenge gave the chief impulse to the rebellion. Haschem Ben Atik, a rich and powerful citizen, complained of the injustice done him by Abmaffah, the King's Wazir ; he spread vast sums of money among the people, and bribed the Berber guards of the Alcazar to espouse his cause. These affected to be alarmed at the fury of the people, who besieged the gates, and fled in trepidation before the multitudes ; those who remained faithful were slain, and the Wazir would also have fallen a victim, had not chance favoured him. Absent from the town, when the revolt broke out, he fled to Calatrava, and thence

dispatched a messenger to Cordova with the news. The Prince Ommiah, with a large body of the royal horse guards, proceeded towards Toledo, while Abmaffah advanced on his side with a strong body of troops. Within Toledo, the rebels took energetic measures to resist the attack. A sally from the gates against Abmaffah's detachment was successful, and the vanity of Haschem and the hopes of his soldiers, augmented in equal proportion. The General Abdalrouf had fully succeeded by mild and politic measures in calming the rebellion in Merida, and when he quitted that city to march on Toledo, he left the poor fully employed, the police and military well provided, and the rebels driven far from its environs. The King had naturally hoped that the same happy

results might attend Abdalrouf at Toledo, but these hopes were not fulfilled at that time, since the only advantage obtained by Abdalrouf against the Toledan mutineers was in an onset near the banks of the small river Alberca. No sooner too had this general retired from Merida, than the rebellious bands re-entered that town, inhumanly murdered two of the magistrates, and planted the flag of sedition on its ramparts. Abdalrahman determined to put an end to these scenes, advanced to the siege in person, and his army prepared to carry the town by assault, when the King adopted a milder course. Written pardons attached to arrows were shot into the town, and the many who read, reflected, laid down their arms, and sought the standard of their sovereign.



a deputation to seek their excuse for pardon, the generous King that he rejoiced, the stern justice was sheathed on a day of joy, when the affections of were restored to him ; and if not turn the hearts of the rebels at all events hoped he should power to prevent their disturbance of his people. The stay of the rahman in Merida was pro many days, during which, he confirmed the wavering, and loyal, and the only want which he displayed was in the

schem defied the royal arms, famine, at length, forced his valour to submit, his guilty head was the only one that fell, and the King having appointed Abdalrouf, Wali of the province, recompensed the misfortunes and fidelity of Abmaffah, by a place at court.

The affairs of the Asturias were guided by the double sovereignty of Alphonso and his cousin Ramiro. The intrigues of the Christians were numberless, their treasons incessant, their perfidy complete. They aided with money and with men the rebel of the Arabian cities, and the Bishop of Christ was frequently seen fighting under the standard of Mohammed. The Arabs resented this treachery by open and sly covert means, the bribes of the court of Oviedo, were duly paid back among the seditious Christians,



and the warriors of the Prophet in the sally and conspired against the safety of the Asturian kings. A bad and wretched policy, which weighed on each people, and fed the flame more fiercely, which inwardly consumed the best prospects both of the Kingdom of Asturias and of Cordova. The remainder of Abdalrahman's reign was far from happy; the powers of nature, as well as the arts, seemed conspired to prevent the Kingdom from closing in prosperity. Two barbarous Norman pirates ravaged the shores of Lusitania, and massacring all the inhabitants of either sex, and of every part of the villages, they encamped before Lisbon, where these vile marauders remained, till on the news of an advancing army, they fled with their booty to their ships. Again appearing under the

of Seville, they laid its suburbs in ruins, and then fearing the results, decamped in haste from their murderous occupations. The rapidity with which these excursions had been effected was such, that the Norman robber had plundered and departed before the capital was aware of his existence. To remedy so important a defect in his government, Abdalrahman established a number of estafettes or galloping couriers in each town and provincial village, and confided the direction of this useful establishment to one of his sons, and he also in the bays of Cadiz, Carthagená and Tarragona considerably increased his navy, for the more sure protection of the Spanish coasts. The year after a calamitous drought, and a scorching sun destroyed the harvest and the fruits, and dried up

the wells and fountains throughout Spain. Famine compelled numbers of the alarmed people to pass over to Fez, where the abundance which reigned formed a striking contrast to the surrounding and far spreading desolation. The heart of the King mourned the sufferings of his people, and he hastened to alleviate their distress. His own coffers were opened to supply their wants, he caused the mountain torrents to be diverted from their course, and conveyed in pipes into the city, the fountains of Cordova once more shed abundance around, the vital element was poured into marble reservoirs for the use of man and beast, and the people were kept in full pay and employment, while Abdallahman received, in the blessings of his grateful subjects, the best recompense.

for his wise and liberal conduct. His son Mohammed was declared his successor, and the just and polished Abdalrahman resigned his breath into the hands of God amidst the universal regrets of his people.

Mohammed Ben Abdalrahman evinced a disposition as able as it was willing to continue the policy of his predecessor in the kingdom, and to cherish the liberal arts and sciences of life. Soon after his accession, he was called upon to decide on the merits and justice of religious doctrine. Abon Malek Ben Ans, a native of Medina,\* born while the Omiadan Suleiman was Caliph at Damas-

\* The four great sects were those of Ben Ans, Hamdani, Nafé, and Ben Omar; they are called "mahmoudah almat bonât," or "approved and followed." Bib. Or. vol. 2, p. 531.

cus, had introduced and confirmed the East his peculiar forms or tenets the Prophet's religion, and the Mohamédans divided into four great orthodoxes, all acknowledged the Koran, wh they practised its ceremonies according to the expounding of their different doctors.\*

The Arabians, and indeed all the appear ever to have delighted in plunging into the entanglements of nice distinctions and subtle points of a doctrine and we observe in perusing their history a long succession of learned Imams and Fakhirs, who constantly engaged th

\* For the different doctrines propounded by four orthodox and two doubtful chiefs of the sect Islamism, vide Bibliothèque, or vol. 2, p. 530; Hamdâni, vol. 2; and Notices on the Sects, Richardson; also Specimen Arabum, Pococke, &c.

attention and obtained their admiration for the various modes in which they explained "the Book," and split the religious community of the East into an endless variety of contending sectarians. In the reign of Mohammed, a learned professor Abou Bakir preached in the temples of Cordova, the heterodox suspicions of his mind, as to the purity of the tenets and forms followed in the mosques of Spain, and which were those held by the great sectarian Ben Ans. As might naturally be expected, this invasion on established opinion alarmed the orthodox, and they loudly complained to the King and besought him not to allow the continued propagation of such dangerous doctrines in his capital. In consequence, Mohammed summoned both parties before his tribunal,

each doctrine was laid down and argued the discernment of Mohammed soon perceived that the *principle* of religion was left untouched in either case, and the judgment he pronounced, in allowing Abou Bakir still to hold forth upon his favourite points, was liberal and sagacious, and (excepting as is always usual on such occasions with the established preachers of the "Law") it met the approval of the large majority of the public. The cares of war then engaged his attention, and troops were sent in large bodies into Narbonne and Galicia. In the former province they committed much devastation, but in the latter the vigorous Ordogno, King of the Asturias, completely defeated the royal force under Muza Ben Zeid, near the frontier of the north. The news of this disaster

reached Mohammed's ear, through the organs of envy or calumny. For once, his discernment was obscured and his resentment excited, and in the deposition of Muza from the command, and of his son from the Walisate of Toledo, he committed an act of injustice, which produced fresh misfortunes to his people. These two injured officers concerted and conspired, and the city of Toledo was again in revolt. The father bought peace with Ordogno by the promise of rebellion, and the Christian monarch did not hesitate to send the son money, and men to support him in his attempt. Mohammed advanced on Toledo, by a well imagined stratagem, he drew out the rebels to where his army was lying in ambuscade, and in the valley of Gudalaceta, he defeated them, leaving fifteen thousand dead



upon the field. Nevertheless the King still refused to treat or to submit, the siege continued and the King's conduct to his youthful son Almondhir guided by the more mature and greater experience of his Generals Alaziz and Abdalmalek. In the course of the following year Almondhir ravaged the surrounding country, eight hundred rebels' heads were hung round the parts of Calatrava, the bridges over the river, were thrown down, and the wretched citizens, viewing their houses in ruins and their smiling land a desert, exclaimed aloud that these miseries might end and that a revolt begun and sustained by the Jews and their bastard adherents might end in a return to the obedience and justice of the King's authority. Mohammed suspected or was informed

of these wishes ; at the head of an imposing force he summoned the citizens of Toledo to surrender, and the rebels having quitted the place in alarm, the inhabitants hastened to open their gates to the army of their sovereign. The fresh incursions of the Norman bands on the coasts of Malaga, were followed up by further advantages obtained against the Arabs by the Asturian Christians, and these even carried their standards as far as Salamanca and Coria.

Hence, however, Almondhir forced them back to their own frontiers, and leading on his victorious army, sat down before Pampluna. His absence re-inspired their hopes and courage, they reappeared in vast bodies, and a series of successful operations was closed by the siege of Lisbon. Alarmed at this vast

success, Mohammed published the Alighed, the results of this proceeding compelled the Christians to retreat, nor did the King rest till their army had entered the town of Compostella in Galicia. At this period he returned to Cordova, happy in the thoughts that he had vanquished his enemies and reduced the rebellion in his own kingdom, at moment, when on the borders of the Navarre country, rose an enemy whose appearance was as unexpected, as his after life proved formidable. Omar Ben Haffsoun was of a low origin and of servile trade, which latter he followed with ill success and disgust in his native town of Ronda.\*

\* Ronda, one of the most beautiful towns in the Upper Algarve; then, and till very lately, famous for its manufacture of Damascus blades and lances.

More addicted to a life of pillage than to the labours of industry, he admired and embraced the occupation of a regular bandit, and his acts of ferocity, intrepidity and skill, soon procured him the admiration of the vulgar, and the alliance of the desperate. Of an ambition equal to his recklessness, he got possession of an almost impregnable castle among the mountains, and there defied the officers of justice, and spread terror and discontent around. He then proclaimed open revolt against Mohammed, and so powerful had he become, that when the inhabitants of a town refused to raise his standard, he did not hesitate to avenge himself by pillage, and de-

points. Casiri, Bib. Hisp. tom. 2 ; Géographie Descriptive, p. 506.

struction. The Wali of Zaragoss was discontented with the justice of his sovereign, and by his inactivity in not stopping the progress of Haffsoun, afforded him every facility, while, with more open treachery, the governors of Lerida and many other towns embraced an alliance with the bandit, and gave him every assistance.

The King lost no time in leading his royal legions to suppress this formidable revolt; but the wily traitor whom he sought to subdue, deceived his sagacity by his apparent submission, and deeply was Mohammed impressed with

\* The same Muza Ben Zaid who had been removed from the command, and who, says Cardon, but he gives no reason, was, i. e. had been a Christian!—Tome 1, p. 289. Certainly not a fit person to be appointed to so high a command.

Haffsoun's sincerity in his assertions of friendship and loyalty, that Ben Cassem, his nephew, was ordered to join the rebel forces, with the troops of Valencia, to aid in Haffsoun's meditated attack upon the Christians of Gallicia. The King retired after this with the main body of his army. In the dead of night, Haffsoun entered the camp of his ally Cassem, and slew him with all the Valencian soldiers. At this terrible news, the nobles and people rose in mass, to take an oath of vengeance against such monstrous treachery ; and the prince Almondhir was ordered to advance with a large army, to wash out the insult and murder in the blood of Haffsoun and of his associates. The rebel applied, on this occasion, to his Christian friends ; but the troubles in his own territory prevented Alphonso

from affording him any assistance. Though disappointed of this expected reinforcement, the reckless bandit defied Almondhir and his forces. A bloody and decisive battle covered the field with the dying and the dead ; the retreat of his favourite château was cut off, and Haffsoun sought safety among the snow-clad mountains of the frontier. Almondhir entered the very den of the robbers, where all perished by the sword ; and this great defeat so impressed the rebels with dismay, as to induce the immediate surrender of Lerida and other revolted towns. Haffsoun advised his people to reconcile themselves to the King's authority ; and promising again to reappear among them with reanimated hopes and strong reinforcements, he vanished amid the caves and rocks of the Pyrenees.

Almondhir returned to Cordova in triumph.

The policy of the Asturians had excited the disgust and vengeance of the King, and he now determined to attack their dominions by a maritime expedition. The fleet of the Arabian admiral directed its course to the Gallician coast ; but a tempest caused the wreck of many of his ships, and the loss of numerous lives. Encouraged by this disaster, the Asturians again invaded the Arab dominions ; and the Navarrese, under their general, Sancho, advancing from the frontier, raised the siege of Pampeluna, and compelled the Mussulmans to intrench themselves within Tudela. Almondhir reappeared at the camp, and repaired these losses ; but a revolt at Saragossa again called for his assistance. The siege of



Toledo followed the suppression of mutiny : the royal arms gained com success ; and again the sagacious p of razing the towers of Toledo was u and again rejected by the monarch.

In the meantime, the affairs of Asturians were acquiring solidity extension by the alliance of Alph with the daughter of Sancho of Navi and the united armies of the two c tian states took the field against Moslems with renewed hopes and vig A tremendous battle, on the banks o Douro, was contested with obsti valour, and the losses on both sides i have been indeed considerable, s either truth or error has handed dow fact, that eleven days were employe the christians in the due intermen their dead. The awful visitations

famine and pestilence suspended, for five years, the hostile operations, if it could not deaden, the insatiable enmity of the two powers in Spain. At the expiration of that term, the siege of Zamora, where Alphonso had established his capital,\* was undertaken by Almondhir ; but his forts were checked by the violent earthquake which shook Spain to her foundations, and equally overawed Mohammedan and Christian (A. D. 881.) The superstitions of his army proved too strong for the representations of Almondhir to have any effect. In vain he argued that this calamity could be no signal

\* A town close to the frontier river, the Douro. This shows how entirely the Kings of Asturias were devoting themselves to the invasion of the Arabian territories, and the extension of their own.

sign from heaven, and that it was produced by natural causes, by immutable wisdom : the depression of his army complete ; and, hopeless of success, and fearful of mutiny, the enlightened prince acceded to their idle alarms, and led them back to Cordova. On the other side, the subjects of Alphonso were again plunged in intrigues and rebellion, and the troubles of his kingdom induced the prince to treat for peace with Mohammed. In consequence, the treaty was ratified and in the capital of the Arab, the ambassador from the Asturias was received with honour, and his country recognized as an independent state.

Hafsoun forgot not his promise. He employed his time among the Navarrese in exciting their avidity, and he was not deceived. Anxious to extend their

minion, reckless of the means employed, they readily embraced his offers, and lent him the necessary aid, with which he ravaged the frontiers, and seizing some fortresses in the Pyrenean passes, delivered them into Sancho's hands. But no sooner did Haffsoun learn the treaty which had been entered into with the Gallician monarch, than he at once foresaw and prepared for the coming blow. He summoned all his forces, routed the Walis of Sarragoza and Huesca, and conquered all the country from thence to the banks of the Ebro. Mohammed, Almondhir, and all the great generals of the Arabians, led a vast and energetic army to attempt his final suppression. The great engagement took place among the defiles leading to Navarre. Haffsoun fell mortally wounded ;

the general of the christian C  
Navarre, the associate and ally of  
cious Moslem bandit, was slain  
field, and the united forces of tro  
robbers totally defeated. The K  
turned to his palace amidst loud  
joy ; large rewards were distrib  
the military, and Almondhir r  
amidst their exultation, the rigl  
title of heir to his father's throne.

The " war of rebellion," tho  
pressed, was not, however, exting  
Caleb, the son of Haffsoun, de  
from his mountain retreat to ass  
bloody honours, and continue the  
trade of his father. Almondhir  
against him, pursued him along t  
to the gates of Tortosa, whence  
on his general, Abdalvahir, to ha  
rebels on their retreat. This ger

into an ambuscade concerted by the Navarrese, was taken prisoner, and seriously wounded, was carried into Navarre. Here, however, he appears to have been kindly treated, and on payment of a large ransom, he was again delivered to his soldiers and his country. Thus, the frontiers of Gallicia were quieted by the treaty existing between Alphonso and Mohammed. The rebellion of Caleb was (at least for the moment) put down, the Walis of the provinces were faithful, the towns in peace, and Mohammed saw once more the smiles of his subjects amidst the calm serenity which prevailed.

On the evening of a sultry day, the monarch of Cordova enjoyed the refreshing air in the splendid gardens of the Alcazar palace, and the Wali of Jaën, Haschen Ben Abdelaziz, the especial friend

and favourite, was his only companion.

“How happy,” said the Wali, “should be the royal state; the pleasures of life are all concentrated for, and wait upon the will of the monarch: enchanted gardens, sumptuous palaces, luxury and power, are the lot of kings on earth.”

“The path of royalty,” replied Mohammed, “appears to the spectator strewn with roses, while the feet of him who treads it bleed from the thorns with which it is interlaid, and when the last hour arrives, the monarch must equally sink and crumble into dust, even as the meanest of his subjects. We hold our lives like all the creatures of Allah, at his nod; and to the good, the relinquishment of this world is the commen-

ment of their eternal happiness.”\* The hour of rest arrived, the monarch of Spain reposed on his couch to enjoy the dream of a few hours, and slept the sleep of eternity.

[886.] The son of Haffsoun seized this occasion to renew his rebellious enterprizes, and the ease with which the traitor was enabled to take possession of

\* The character of this prince, as drawn by Cardonne, is that of a weak and most unfortunate monarch, deceived by his friends and oppressed by his enemies; and the concluding words of his life are so changed or mutilated, as to be destitute either of point or sublimity. According to him, Ben Abdela-ziz is supposed to have said: “How happy would be the lot of kings if they could avoid death!” to which stupid remark Mohammed replies by one equally so: “Without it, how should I be here? If my predecessor had not died, I could not have succeeded to the throne!”—Vide tome 1, 187 to 304.



many of the towns in the north, struck the mind of the new monarch with grief and dismay. He, however, resolved to send the favourite of his father, Haschem Ben Abdelaziz, against Caleb. The latter attempted to repeat the artifices which had been so successfully practised by his father, but Almondhir wrote to Haschem reminding him of this, and bidding him be on his guard against all such attempts. Whether that general disregarded these injunctions, or whether in the hope of promoting the general peace, and saving a useless effusion of blood, he was induced to consent that a number of mules should be sent into Toledo to transport the baggage and the wounded of Caleb's people into the retreat named by the latter among the Pyrenees, the rebel

promising, if this were done, to surrender up the city and depart in peace. The conventions were seemingly observed; the troops of Almondhir entered the town, his authority was proclaimed, and Haschem joyfully announced these tidings to the King, recommending him, at the same time, to disband the troops which had been levied for this war. The glad monarch cheerfully complied, and the general returned to Cordova, where he was followed by a courier, bearing news that a concealed band of Caleb Ben Haffsoun's had remained in Toledo, that they had again seized on the fort and towers, and massacred the royal forces left there by Haschem. The enraged Almondhir instantly summoned Ben Addelaziz to his presence; the fury of disappoint-

## THE ARMS IN SPAIN.

THE KING IN SPAIN, and the execu-  
tion of a military treaty, an able coun-  
ciller, and a son-in-law of his father  
possessed a power over the feelings of  
the people which augmented their affec-  
tion for him, and increased their respect. Mo-  
rillo, it is said, was a man, for so des-  
cribed he has been impudently  
described in a private history; but if so,  
they will more justly the memory of  
Alfonso. Whoever might be the  
cause, the king's interest extended to the  
people in his general. Since he ordered  
them to be imprisoned, and their es-  
tates confiscated and sold. He then  
proceeded in person to Toledo. On the

\* From the excessive love he bore his father Mi-  
hammad, and from the long and bitter regrets the  
Wail expressed at his loss. As well he might.—Vide  
Conde, tome 1er.

whole year was employed in attempting to bring on an action with the wary Caleb ; at length the armies met. In an impetuous charge, Almondhir lost his life, and the false alarm of Caleb's death may alone have prevented the entire destruction of the royal legions.

[A.D. 889.] To the people, the death of Almondhir was not matter of much regret, his life was little known to them, and the cruel act by which the venerable Wali of Jaën had been deprived of honour and of life had gone far to destroy whatever little esteem they might otherwise have possessed. With the army it was different ; the valour he had always displayed, the sufferings he had shared in, the exploits he had performed, and the many victories which he had won, had rendered him, in their eyes, a hero, and

the memory of Almondhir was cherished and his death long regretted by the people and the captain of the Andalusian provinces.

Abdallah, the brother of Almondhir, was elected by the council at Cordova to succeed. His first act was to restore liberty to the sons of Haschem; to the former, Omar, he gave his father's Viscounty of Jaén, to the latter, Ahmed, the captaincy in the royal guards. This just and humane act was highly applauded and the people looked up to the King with every assurance of a just and happy reign. The affairs of Toledo were pressing, but the troubles of Seville detained Abdallah from the siege. His brother Mohammed, Wali of that town, had entered into an alliance with his uncle, the Walis of Xeres and Sidonia, to

an unnatural war against the new Wali of Jaën, whom it is said, the prince detested from motives of private pique\*. Shocked at his conduct, and still more grieved to perceive it was encouraged by his own brothers, Abdallah sent his second son Almudafar to Seville to employ the means of reason and persuasion with the turbulent young prince. In the mean time, the King arrived at his camp before Toledo, and pushed on the preparations for the siege. Little advantage was, however, gained by his presence, and a letter from Almudafar, containing the alarming intelligence of a serious rebellion, contemplated by the prince Mohammed, caused the King instantly to return to Cordova.

\* That he had been the means of crossing him in fits and courses of gallantry among women.—Conde, oc. cit. and Bib. Arab. Hisp., tome 1.

This rebellious Wali had allied himself to one Suâr Ben Hamadani, a brigand of the southern mountains, who had excited all the people to insurrection in the province of Jaën, had collected ten thousand of the lawless under his standard, had seized many of the forts among the Alpuxarras, and was robbing and murdering the defenceless villagers. To the chieftain, Caleb had also sent his messenger, and proposed a treaty, by which he secured to him the aid of one Suquelâ Sheik of a wandering tribe in the African desert. Suâr having accepted this offer, these two rebels united their forces, beat the royal troops, and took their commander prisoner, who was conducted to the fortress of Garnathah or Grenada then newly erected among the southern range of hills. Alarmed at their success

**the** cities of Jaën, Huesca, and others **opened** their gates, and all the district **from** hence to Calatrava was, for the time, **reduced** by the arms of the allied rebels. **The** King, however, at length met them, **and** in a long-contested struggle, **overthrew** their bands, slew vast numbers, **among** which were the chiefs Suâr and Suquelah, and regained possession of **Jaën** and Lorja. Two new commanders **were** found for the rebels, the former **hazarded** and lost a battle and his life, the **other** less rash, led back among the **mountains** of Grenada the remnant of **his** shattered bands, while the King **turned** to Cordova to watch more nearly **the** tumults of Seville and the siege of **Toledo**. In the former affair, Almudafar **had** hitherto had so small a force under **his** command, that he could not do more



than prevent the rebellion from extending further. But as at this time the war which had broken out in Lusitania had been terminated by the victories of the general Obeidalla, the King sent that brave commander with a large body of men to join Almudafar, who now took the offensive, and soon after the two brothers were engaged in the battle of Hermanos. Almudafar was triumphant, Mohammed was taken prisoner and strictly guarded till the King's pleasure should be known. Before this could take place, Mohammed died, and Abdallah was accused of having caused an event which the nature and the number of his son's wounds in the battle were alone sufficient to have produced. Mohammed left one son of four years old, for whose tender age the people enter

ined, or affected to feel, the greatest  
re and compassion. He was sent to  
ordova, where, under the inspection of  
s grandfather, Abdalrahman Ben Mo-  
ammed Ben Abdalla, received a lavish  
lucation, and was carefully prepared to  
lful the glorious destiny which awaited  
im. In the mean time, several years  
lled on and still Toledo was besieged,  
nd Caleb kept possession of the town.

This rebel became more ambitious,  
nd trusted that, owing to the existing  
reaty between Zamora and Cordova,  
he Gallician frontiers would be left ex-  
posed to any sudden attack. He, there-  
re, sent upwards of 40,000 men to the  
ighbourhood of Zamora. Not only  
d the officers of Abdallah, near the  
ouro and frontiers, send to Cordova  
ews of this expedition, but faithful to

The next day, they approached  
 the city of the danger. The King im-  
 mediately assembled his numerous forces, with  
 which he sent the rebels in check. After  
 three days, and on the fourth day, he  
 gave them battle, which they were totally  
 beaten, and their scattered bands, fly-  
 ing in all directions, spread terror  
 throughout the surrounding country.  
 The rage of certain inmates among the  
 Mussulmans was fired at this effusion of  
 blood by the swords of their Christian foes,  
 and they even carried their misplaced  
 enthusiasm so far as to recommend Ab-  
 isalah entering into a treaty with Caleb,  
 and making common cause against the  
 Asturians. These suggestions the King  
 wisely treated with disdain, and sent  
 word to Alphonso to push his forces on  
 with vigour against Caleb ; while he would

ack them on his side with the legions  
Andalousia. The ambassador charged  
In these despatches was the famous  
General of the Lusitanian war, Obeidallah.  
Sooner, however, did the religious fa-  
ctics learn what had happened, than  
they attempted, even in Cordova, to raise  
an outcry against Abdallah, treating him  
as an infidel, and in many temples, the  
Arabians were sufficiently audacious to  
omit the Khotbah, while some even went  
so far as to pronounce it for Moctader,  
the Caliph of the East.\*

These seditious movements were en-  
couraged by Alcassim, brother to the  
King, and rose to that height that the  
Royal Commissioner and Fakhir Abdal-  
lah was sent to investigate the case,

Cardonne, tome 1, p. 308. Casiri, tome 1, 234.

and on his report, the prince was arrested, and with many of the Fakh and seditious preachers banished from the country. Caleb and his party trusted that by assiduously fomenting these discontents, they might soon lead to an insurrection in Cordova, and that intrepid chief ventured in person, to explore in that capital, and to attempt to raise the citizens against the royal authority. A report of his presence, however, quickly spread, many were arrested and interrogated on the subject ; these either were, or pretended to be ignorant, and the rebel saved his head by a timely flight from his dangerous and fool-hardy expedition.

On his return to his bands, Caleb recommenced his usual course of pillage and devastation. But near Calatrava,

**O**beidallah encountered him, and so signal was the defeat, that the bandit was contented to remain for three whole years within the walls of Toledo.

The conqueror of Lusitania, and of Jaën, the chastiser of the rebels, and the faithful councillor of Abdallah might reasonably expect some reward for services so long and so ably rendered. In Merida, of which he was Wali, his government had been so judicious as to secure the peace of that province, and the esteem of all its inhabitants. Yet this government was desired by Almudafar for himself, and he suggested to Abdallah the age of Obeidallah as a reason for his retirement; but the King nobly refused to lend himself to this unworthy and ungrateful proceeding. Obeidallah was, however, no sooner informed of

it, than he wrote to his sovereign and resigned an office, for which he pretended his advanced age might render him somewhat unfitted. The King reluctantly consented, and Obeidallah exchanged his Walisate to be the captain-general, Emir, of the Sclavonian body-guards. Here, he had frequent opportunities of exercising a well-dissembled revenge against Almudafar, and he laid a plan to deprive that prince of the throne, which, in the end, proved entirely successful. He openly espoused the cause of the youthful Abdalrahman, who had, from his earliest youth, been the popular favourite, and who now, from a combination of numerous mental and physical perfections, enlisted the good wishes of all classes in his favour.

So accomplished was this prince that—

for learning, many even of maturer age excelled him not ; conversant with the Koran, and with the religious traditions or Sonnah of his country, and a deep proficient in the Arabic language and poetry, he was admired by the priesthood, and esteemed by the learned : while his activity, grace, and skill employed and displayed in the management of the horse, the bow, and the javelin, won him golden opinions from the vulgar. With his grandfather he was a special favourite, and Obeidallah lost no opportunity to push the cause of his protégé, and to secure his election to the crown. Abdallah, at length, urged on by his representations, and predisposed by his own feelings, consented to nominate his grandchild. The council of Wazirs assembled and confirmed the



choice, and after recommending his youth, his virtues, and his fortunes to the doubtful love and care of Almudafar, Abdallah expired in the twenty-fourth year of his reign\*.

[A.D. 912.] Abdallah descended to the grave with the character of a wise and courageous King. A greater lover of peace than of war, he sustained misfor-

\* Mr. Cardonne makes Abdallah to die of grief, owing to eternal dissensions at home, and defeat from his enemies. He then observes, that the crown of Cordova was hereditary ; and, with the same accuracy makes out Abdalrahman III., grandson of Abdallah, to be his nephew, and son of Mohammed, or Muhammed, his brother ! But what brother ? The rebellion of the son of Abdallah, his death in prison, and the early years of Abdalrahman, the injustice of Almudafar, and the dignified vengeance of Obeidallah, are all suppressed or forgotten in the pages of Mr. Cardonne,—Vid. tom 1, p. 306 to 310,

tune with calmness, and enjoyed prosperity with humility. Faithful to his friends and his foes, whether Arab or Christian, he reigned with justice and temperance; the esteem of his subjects accompanied him through life, and their regrets, at his death, proved they were not unaware of the loss they had sustained.

His virtues were long remembered, but his reign was eclipsed, and his qualities obscured, by the greater fortune and transcendant splendour of his illustrious successor.

## CHAPTER IV.

~~Abdallahman III.—Conquests—Capture of Toledo—Expedition to Fez—The Azhara—The doctrine of the Faithful—Declaration of war with the Asturian—Conspiracy of Abdallah—Attack of Tunis—Death of Abdallahman.~~

ABDALRAHMAN III, mounted on his throne, received from his subjects the title of Amir Al Mumenin, or Defender of the Faithful. His reign opened a new era to the Andalousian people. Brilliant conquests over his enemies, suppression of intestine revolt, extension of empire, foreign alliances, and a vast progress in literature, arts, and science combined the body of occupations destined to fill up his time and cares, and to

illustrate the annals of his country during the considerable period of half a century.

On his accession to the throne, the states of Asturias and Gallicia were at peace with the Arabians. The banks of the Douro were no longer visited by their troops, the province of Lusitania was no more startled by the appearance of their standards. The troubles of disputed succession prevented the recurrence of war, nor was it till the death of Garcia that these terminated, and that Ordogno, then left the sole sovereign, fixed his capital at Leon,\* and designated himself by the title of King of Leon and Asturias.

The virtues of Almudafar had been strong enough to quench the risings of

\* Mariana, Lib. vii.

ambition in his breast, and to allow the promptings of a generous nature to take full effect. Though disinherited as it were, by his father, he took the oath of allegiance to his successor with zeal and sincerity, and if he felt, he never appears to have displayed, on this point, any symptoms of resentment against Obeidallah. Aided by these able councillors and sincere friends, the young and handsome monarch left Cordova to prosecute a war of extermination, against the Moors, and to suppress rebellion throughout his kingdom. The power and success of the son of Haffsoun had indeed been immense. From Tortosa to Murcia on the east, and from the frontiers of Castile to the heart of the seditionous Al-Andalus; his bravery and his bribes had

\* The spirit of the Toledan people was eminently

enslaved and corrupted the whole population ; and the King of Cordova might well feel alarmed at results, which, while they shocked his pride, menaced the existence of his empire. A large army was convoked, and, at the head of 12,000 men, filled with enthusiasm for their king, and shame at the deeds and du-

addicted to rebellion ; for two hundred years it was the general focus for the discontented. This remark is confirmed by Cardonne, tom 1, p. 298, but who oddly enough applies the same observation, and in *exactly the same words* to the people of Seville !—Vid. tom 1, p. 200. The abundance of Jews, and the neighbourhood of the Christian frontiers, were doubtless reasons for the frequency and duration of the revolt of Toledo. It was also to be remarked, Toledo had been, in former days, the Gothic capital, the residence since then of many factions, men such as the Samails, &c., and the refuge of the exiles of Cordova. —Vid. d'Anville, vol. 2, p. 183.

ration of the ferocious chieftain's r  
Abdalrahman, Almudafar, and Ob  
lah, advanced upon Toledo.

While Ben Haffsoun sought  
succours among the towns of Vale  
the King laid siege to Toledo ; and  
fearing to give time to the rebel, he  
vanced with the greater part of his  
towards Cuença. Near that city a  
mendous conflict took place, in which  
victory of Abdalrahman was only  
dered incomplete by the escape of  
leb, but the results were most impor  
since all the provinces of the east  
Spain submitted immediately to  
royal authority. Returning to his  
tal, the King then turned his arm  
wards the Alpuxarras, where he ev  
where reaped conquest, and where  
principal cities of Jaen, Loja, and ot

which had long held out, again embraced, with a feeling allied to gratitude, the authority of the King. Wherever he appeared, his sagacious measures, his person, and his manners, gained him adherents and friends, and it was only necessary to have the presence of Abdalrahman before a town or fort, to be assured of an easy surrender. With little or no effusion of blood, the King re-established his authority amidst the southern provinces; and gratified at the mode and the extent of his success, he was received at Cordova amidst the acclamations of the people.

The pirates of the Barbary tribes of Zanhag and Masmoûd had infested the shores of Sicily and Calabria, and now menaced the Andalousian coast. To pre-



vent or repress this evil, the grand *admiral* Okail was ordered to transport troops to Majorca, and new vessels were laid down in the arsenals of Tarragona and Algeziras. The urgent entreaties of his uncle, who was still in the camp before Toledo, determined Abdalrahman to take the most energetic measures against Caleb and his allies; and in the following spring, after a brilliant progress through Lorca, Valencia, Murcia, and Tortosa, he reached the banks of the Ebro at the head of an enormous army. Hence, he proceeded to Zaragossa, into which place he gained an easy entrance; and in the Alcazar of that city, he passed many months, confirming, by his presence, the efforts of the loyal, and suppressing the attempts of the factious,

the climate and beauty of the surrounding country attracted his admiration and praise.

The son of Haffsoun foresaw, and instantly admitted the decline of his influence, and sent two envoys to the King agree to a treaty of peace, on the condition that he should be allowed to retain the provinces of the east for himself, and his descendants. To this insolent and ill-timed proposal, the King answered with becoming dignity, refusing to treat, but as a monarch to his subject, threatening the rebel with his utmost vengeance if, within a month, he did not submit, and lay down his arms. Driven to despair, Caleb sought everywhere to raise the courage of his followers, and to win fresh adherents to his cause. But

his attempts were vain. the King of Leon was prevented by domestic troubles, from sending any aid to this worthy ally, and Ben Hassan, thus reduced to the Musulmans for his sole support, found them dissuaded by late events, and unwilling ever to contend against the power and popularity of Abdalrahman. In the southern mountains the last embers of lingering sedition were inflamed by the severities of a collector of the imposts, but the vigorous activity of the King, tempered with mildness, silenced all complaints, and Elvira, Alhama, and other fortresses of the Alpuxarras, again submitted to his sway.

Leaving Almudafar at the camp, the monarch returned to Cordova, where the news of Caleb's death, which happened

at Huesca,\* considerably eased Abdalrahman's apprehensions as to the further duration of the rebellion. For three years the tactics of war, guided by the prudence of Almudafar, laid waste the country round Toledo. The obstinacy of its citizens was, at length, reduced by their despair; and, famished and dismayed, they opened the gates of that city, where, after an absence of fifty-six years,† the standard of Cordova floated

\* Whether this was Huesca, the ancient Osca, in the north, and not far from the Navarre frontier, or whether the more modern Huesca, near Jaen and the Alpuxarras mountains, the Arab historians do not say.

† The rebellion of Haffsoun began in 883 or 884. The surrender of Toledo took place in 926 or 927.—  
Vide Conde, vol. i. Casiri, tom. i.

from the walls, and the khotbah was once more heard in the temples.

Nevertheless, Giaffar, the son of Caliph, sought means to continue the war rebellion. In Leon, Ramiro the Second had succeeded to Ordonez. Young and ambitious, this prince aspired to new conquests ; and he readily listened and assented to Giaffar's proposals of alliance. With a considerable army, he entered the kingdom of Spain, laid waste the Douro, seized and pillaged Talavera and burnt numerous villages. The Warden of Toledo, Ahmed, set forward to check and chase back the invader ; he forced them to retreat beyond their front river, but his force was too weak to attempt pursuit, and he was contented to remain on its banks, in order to wait

and prevent any return on the part of Ramiro.

From the gorges of the Pyrenees,\* Almodafar learnt the insult offered by the Asturians and the disgraces to the Arab arms. Burning for revenge, he hastily marched his army to the Douro, where he was reinforced by fresh legions from Cordova; and with these troops he entered Galicia, and paid back Ramiro by the most cruel scenes of devastation. On this occasion, the sword was unsparingly used, the prisoners, taken in different combats, cruelly massacred, and the resistance offered by Ramiro utterly vain; —and that sagacious monarch reaped the advantage of having destroyed Talavera

\* Whither he had pursued the rebels after the christians in Galicia.

at the expense of one-third of his army, 20,000 christian captives, and the devastation of lands, villages, and towns throughout a large tract of his dominions. His vengeance was spent on some hapless victims of his own family, and the savage amused himself by enjoying tyranny at home, in the absence of success against his enemies.

The arms of Abdalrahman were now victorious throughout Spain, and his alliance had been courted by the Greek of Constantinople and the Franks of Aix-la-Chapelle. A call was now made for his assistance, which, while it opened a fresh field for extending his ambition and influence, afforded him the means of repaying the services of old and faithful friends. The tribe of Zaneta called for his interference in the kingdom of Fez or Morocco.

For upwards of a century, the Edrissah family\* had reigned in Fez, which had owed its subsequent existence to their valour and policy, and now the eighth King of that race, Yahik, had been obliged to humble himself before the Fatimite Emir Obeidalla. After this disgrace, a neighbouring chieftain, called Al-Affah, had marched against Yahik, and entering Fez, proclaimed himself as sovereign. The Zannites, ashamed of the weakness of Yahik, and jealous of the power of Al-Affah, felt all the desire of revenge, without the means of gratifying it, till their chieftains wrote to Cordova, explaining the circumstances, and recalling to the mind of Abdalrahman the long and steady friendship which had existed be-

\* Vide Bib. Or. vol. i, p. 384.624-626.



tween the *families* of Zaneta and Om-miah.

Their appeal was not in vain. Abdal-rahman sent both land and sea forces : his troops shortly occupied Tangiers and Ceuta ; and Al-Affah, respecting the name or dreading the power of the Caliph of Spain, proclaimed him Emir and Imam in the palaces and mosques of Fez. But the pride of the King was soon checked by the eternal revolts and murders in his new states, while his bad policy was evidently proved in the news that the Gallicians, profiting by the absence of the best troops and commanders in Africa, had ravaged Lusitania and attempted to besiege Badajoz and Lisbon. The conquest of Fez might, at the moment, gratify the ambition of Abdalrahman and the pride of his subjects ; but it was

purchased at the price of domestic stability, and a happy opportunity for cementing their power at home, and effectually undermining the kingdoms of the Asturias was for ever lost to the Spanish Arabs.

To revenge the Lusitanians, Almudafar headed the battalion of Merida, and beat back the christians to their frontier, while further advantages were impossible, from the want of men and generals, then employed in the ostentatious but useless display of power in Africa. For two years, however, Ramiro remained without the reach of the Mohammedan arms, and peace, *de facto*, reigned between Leon and Cordova.

For a moment, then, let it be allowed to turn away from the fierce monotony of these annals, to contemplate some of

their many alleviating characters, in  
sidering a work of elegant magnific  
which the great riches and splendid  
of Abdalrahman erected in the n  
bourhood of Cordova.

About five to ten miles to the sou  
Cordova, and on the banks of the s  
ling Guadalquivir, where once sto  
favourite summer house of the Ar  
kings, the foundations of the "Azha  
palace had been laid. This name  
in honour to a loved sultana of the k  
and he spared no pains, time, or exp  
to make the edifice the marvel of the  
During the progress of the works  
elegant town gradually encircled  
ample gardens, and received the nar

\* Azhara signifies "a beauteous flower, or j  
—Vide Bib. Or. vol. i, p. 303.

**Medina Azhara.** In the midst of its spacious street rose a smaller imitation of the great mosque in the capital, and near to these holy precincts Abdalrahman constructed the useful but important building of a royal mint. For the erection and ornament of his palace, architects and artists had been invited from Constantinople and all the East. Its vaults were sustained by four thousand pillars of sculptured stone ; its marble floors were covered with the brilliant mosaic of the East, and the walls were encrusted with the same material. The wood-work was painted in gold and blue, and the beams and rafters were solid blocks of cedar and mahogany. Fifteen hundred columns of polished marble, hewn from the quarries of Spain, Africa, Greece, and Italy, supported the great apartments of state.

The superb hall of audience was encrusted with massy gold, decorated with pearls, and surrounded with curious figures of birds and animals, sculpture with the nicest care; and from the golden ceiling hung the famous pearl, which had been sent as a present from Leo, the Greek emperor at Constantinople. In the private rooms, and in the luxurious harem\* were various fountains of marble, which poured out their limpid waters into basins of smooth jasper; and in the middle of the largest of these, appeared an immense swan, of solid gold, which had been moulded in the workshops of

\* "Chose défendue par la loi," applied to the Imam's sanctum, the tomb of the Prophet, and the apartments of women.—Bib. Or. vol. ii, p. 200, and Richardson, 7th Dissert.

the East for this express purpose. The large and rich gardens were filled with the choicest fruit trees, rare flowers, and aromatic plants; while the acacia and myrtle offered shade from the rays of a cloudless sun. In the middle of the gardens stood a pavilion or summer house, of pure white marble, whose silver polish was reflected back, with tenfold lustre, from a glittering stream of quicksilver, running from the great fountain. In the surrounding walks and alleys were placed various highly worked jasper and marble reservoirs of refreshing water; and the interior of the palace was adorned with elegant baths, and furnished with the richest silks, brocades, and cloth of gold from the looms of Spain and Constantinople.

In this abode of Eastern magnificence

and luxury, the third Abdalrahman took up his residence. Here, at a later date, the christian embassy, from the banks of the Bosphorus, was sumptuously entertained ; although, before that period arrived, its walls had been tainted by a domestic tragedy, which embittered the days of its superb and voluptuous master.

The sparks of religious contention had been kindled in Cordova, by the appearance of a new sectarian, by name Hamim, who, after preaching, with some success, his peculiar tenets in the plains of Africa, arrived in Spain, to add fresh converts to his doctrine. The alterations which he proposed appear to have been trifling, and purely fanatic ; but there were two points which struck the government as worthy of serious attention :

the one was, his desiring the prayers of his congregation for himself and a favourite wife—the other, the exaction of one-tenth from the revenues of his proselytes. The *doctrine* of Hamim offended the priesthood, his *practice* alarmed the government. He was consequently arrested, and when the Fakhirs adjudged his doctrine to damnation, and his person to death, the execution of the latter quickly followed on the sentence.

Lusitania was again alarmed by rumours of war from Leon ; and so great was the terror of the peasantry of the Douro, and those frontiers, that they deserted their tillage and farms, and transported themselves even as far as the Tagus and Lisbon. War was soon declared. Abdalrahman fixed upon Salamanca as the head-quarters of the army,



and despatched orders to all Walis and Emirs throughout the kingdom to hold themselves in readiness to assemble there. His commands were universally respected, and the whole army, which in the ensuing spring, reunited its force under the command of the King, the sagacious Almu-  
dabar, and the ancient Obeidallah, numbered 120,000 veteran soldiers, used to the battle field, ardent for victory, and enthusiastic for their monarch's and their country's renown. With such elements, the Arab sovereigns might have marched, with assured success, from the rock of Tarik to the borders of the Rhine ; but so few were the occasions when this happy combination was presented, that the power of the Mussulmans was comparatively of small extent and of unequal duration. The siege of Zamora was the

first enterprize of the combined forces, and was directed by the skill of Abdalla, the Wali of Badajoz ; while the King and Almudafar, after a little time, leaving 20,000 men before Zamora, advanced towards the Elsa, a small stream,\* tributary to the Douro, where they met the brilliant army and the mail-clad knights of Leon and the Asturias. Ramiro, their King, and the Count of Castile, led the Christian armament.

The battle was long and bloody, fortune for some time seemed undecided, till the enthusiasm and the shock of the

\* The Elsa is a small stream flowing into the Douro, to the N.W. of Zamora ; it takes its rise in the eastern mountains of the Asturias, and from its source to its terminus runs through an extent of about sixty miles English.—Pinkerton's Geog. Map. Spain, and p. 182.

Arab cavalry carried the day, the ~~El~~ <sup>day</sup> was tinged with the red blood of the combatants and the dead lay piled upon ~~the~~ field.

The Asturians retreated, and the ~~Ar~~ <sup>Arabs</sup> returned to Zamora, took ~~that~~ city by assault, where, while their ~~ve~~ <sup>vengeance</sup> slew all the one sex, their ~~human~~ <sup>humanity</sup> gallantry spared and protected ~~the~~ other.

After this combat called " Alhandil~~ik~~" or fight of the rampart, the King order~~ed~~ <sup>ed</sup> all the fortifications to be repaired, ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> came back to Cordova, where ~~large~~ <sup>large</sup> rewards recompensed the services and fatigues of his soldiers. A further invasion of Ramiro was again repelled by a contest in which, after immense slaughter on both sides, the Chateau of San Stefano or Etienne was taken by the royal forces.

The rebellion of one Abn Yahac, was at the same time quelled, and the names of Haffar and Haffsoun are heard no more.\* The King of Leon, exhausted by his long struggles and weary of his bad success, desired and demanded a peace, and on his side, Abdalrahman equally suffering from a fierce war, and a long extended rebellion readily consented ; a treaty for five years was consequently

\* For sixty years rebellion had been fomenting and exploding in Toledo. Its vicinity to the Christian frontier, its large population, upwards in the Arabian times of 100,000 souls and composed of mixed subjects, deserters from Christianity, and the Jews, its impregnable forts, all were causes for its long and frequent rebellion. The dynasty of rebels, the Haffsoun family were, by their acts, more injurious to the power of the Arabian monarchs than the armies or the fleets of their foreign enemies.

agreed upon by the King and the Asturian ambassadors at Cordova.

In this interim the African possessions needed the further attention of the government. The reverses which the Spanish arms had met with, had been somewhat redeemed by the death of Al Afan, and the greater part of the Fezzan state was again under Abdalrahman's control.

For the continuance, however, of this power, his vanity led him to draw men, ships and treasures from Spain, and the empty shadow of a title, and the assumption of an ill-founded and unstable authority in Africa, weakened the country and exhausted the resources of the Andalousian state.

The public policy of an eminent monarch is always recorded in the page of history, while the actions of his

his private life are seldom mentioned, thus, while we may sometimes form a pretty accurate judgment of the king, we remain in ignorance on the character of the man.

From time to time, however, events occur which history lays open to our view, and the following will detail a scene of private calamity, and stern domestic discord which assail the proudest, and to all appearance, the most prosperous of the race of man. The King of Cordova had two sons, Abdalla and Hakim, of whom the latter had received the title of Caliph. This was received by Abdalla on the light of an unfair partiality, and the rising discontent of the young prince was observed and carefully fostered by a set of ambitious and designing nobles in the city.

Adhilbar, the intimate friend of the prince, was one of this party, and was the chief cause of his subsequent conduct. The intelligence of Adhilbar was great, his virtues various, but his misguided ambition obscured the one and tarnished the other. From him the weak Abdalla received suggestions of his ill-treatment, and was excited to feel anger at what he was taught to consider the injustice of Abdalrahman and the duplicity of Hakim.

He lent himself therefore to treasonable practices, and went so far either by himself or his agents, as to attempt the corruption of the Wazirs and the officers of the royal guards. To what extent this might have gone and to what result it might have led, can never be known since the secret of the conspiracy was revealed by a faithful servant to the

king, whose heart received a wound at his son's ingratitude, from which it is said he never recovered. Urged at the end of a long conference by his uncle Almudafar to the most firm and terrible measures, Abdalrahman reluctantly ordered his arrest, the astounded Abdalla is surrounded by the royal guard in the Mervan palace at Cordova, and brought with his guilty associates to Medina Azhara. On his appearance, the monarch sternly asked him whether it is true that he complained he was not king; Abdalla, by his silent confusion, confessed his guilt.

The execution of Abhilbar, on whom the prince did not hesitate to throw all the blame, was determined on; but ere the appointed day arrived, his despair had put an end to his existence. Al-Hakim



interceded for his brother in vain, Abdalrahman replied, that had he been but a private individual, Abdalla's life was safe, but that as King, he could not accede, and though he owned his days would be for ever embittered, and his future hours for ever darkened by the deed, yet public justice exacted from the impartiality of Abdalrahman the execution of Abdalla. The lovely palace of Azhara was that same night the scene of death, and the sobs of the stifled Abdalla expired amidst its stately halls.

Not long after this sad event, the ambassadors from Constantinople arrived, and the Hageb, after sumptuously entertaining them in the capital, led them, on an appointed day, to the superb residence of Azhara.\* · In the magnificence of his

\* Cardonne, tom. 1, p. 324, makes Abdalrahman

royal state, Abdalrahman vied and equalled the splendour of Bagdad.\* Amidst the enchanting gardens of the palace, he received the Emperor's envoys ; the rich and numerous body-guard of the Sclavonian regiments filled the space between the entrance and the hall of audi-

receive this embassy at Cordova, and details his magnificence as having been displayed in that capital ; but as Abdalrahman wished to impress the minds of the Greeks with his power and riches, it seems more consistent that he should have entertained them first in his capital, and then have burst upon them in all the blaze of his pomp in the surprising palace of the Azhara.

\* Vide d'Herbelot, *Bibl. Or.*, vol. 2, p. 632, and Aboulfeda *Narrative*, French Trans., p. 248, for the glories of the Caliph, who enjoyed the large surface of the Tigris to display his vessels and boats on, an advantage in which the smaller river, at his rival's palace, was deficient.

ence ; and the Grecian ministers were struck with astonishment at the blaze of oriental splendour, taste, and power which surrounded the caliph of Cordova. A treaty of mutual aid and alliance, against the caliphs of Bagdad, was gravely proposed and accepted, and the ambassadors were dismissed from the royal presence with rich presents and fair promises.\* The despatches from Africa

\* Considering that the Greek empire was daily wasting, and yielding submissively to the encroachments of the Abbassides, and other chieftains of the East, and that Abdalrahman was prevented, by his geographical position, and by the numerous wars and rebellions, both in Africa and Spain, from being, in any way able to annoy or invade the power of Bagdad, this treaty must have been, in reality, a mere form. The valour and union of the Greeks had passed away, and they could no longer protect them-

used also much pleasure to the King. As had been proclaimed at Fez and at chart, and Muhammed Ben Elkar, of the faithful tribe of the Zanites, preserved the Waliship of Fez in the name and authority of that family to whom, in the hour of danger and adversity, he had rendered such eminent services. At the expiration of the five years, Amiro was once more sufficiently reinforced to invade Lusitania, and to penetrate by Zamora into the province of Toledo. On this news, Abdalrahman abolished the Alighed, and the chosen troops flocked from all parts of the kingdom as well as from Africa. The successor\* in command of the army was ~~was~~; their vanity still remained, it was all, as a nation, which they yet possessed.

\*Almudafar had expired in Cordova, soon after the

Ahmed Ben Zaid, who possessed and deserved the confidence of the King. He drove back the christians, ravaged the province and towns of Gallicia; and in the magnificence of his present to Abdallahman, proved the enormous riches of his plunder.\*

execution of the prince Abdalla, not so much in favour, during his latter years, with the people, who attributed to him, and perhaps justly, the death of the King's son. The wise and faithful Obeidallah had died a few years before, having to the last preserved his sincere and amiable character.—Ebnshon, MSS. of Toledo, and Conde, vol. i, 343.

\* After deducting the legal tithe of one-fifth of spoils taken from the enemies, for the King's treasury, Ahmed's present consisted of 400 lbs. of virgin gold, worth then, at 6sh. the mechtal, £116,000, 420,000 sequins in silver, worth £142,600; 400lbs. of aloe, 500 ounces of amber, 300 ounces of camphor, thirty pieces of gold cloth and silks, 110 furs of Khorassan,

The following year was again remarkable for the ravages of nature, which, in the shapes of storms and floods, appalled

forty-eight horse coverings of gold and silk tissue from Bagdad, 4,000lbs. of spun silk, thirty Persian carpets, 800 steel or iron mail plates for the war horses, 1000 shields, 100,000 arrows, fifteen Arabian steeds, with gold trappings, 100 African and Spanish mares, twenty saddle mules, forty slaves, and twenty young beauties, splendidly dressed, to which the gallant premier, for such was Ahmed, added a short poem, in which he praised, with some justice and more flattery, the virtues and renown of his sovereign. Vide Bib. Or. Casiri, Conde, Cardonne, Toledo MSS. Cardonne makes this present to come from one Abdoulmalek Ben Zahia, who he says was raised to the rank of prime Wazir on the occasion, and says nothing of its being spoil. The latter was brother to Ahmed, and the names are, with a little variation, the same. The facts differ and are important.—Vide tome i, p. 320.

the hearts of both Spaniard and African. These disasters were succeeded by fresh successes against the troops of Leon, and by the extension of conquest in the plains of Almagreb, in Africa. About this period, also, a conflict took place between a vessel belonging to the Spanish King, which was carrying merchandize from Spain to Egypt and Syria, and a ship belonging to the Emir of Tunis, which opened the way to a long series of warlike operations, alike calamitous and useless. The victory, on this occasion, of the Andalousian sailors excited the fury of the African governor, who made instant and serious reprisals ; and in the port of Almeria, he fought and got possession of a vessel just arrived with some young Greeks, destined to enrich the vocal orchestra of Abdalrahman.

Ahmed Ben Zaid offered the monarch to repair the loss, and revenge the insult. He departed from Spain, collected or increased his forces in Tangiers and Almagreb, and led the delighted Zanite and the eager Andalouz to the gates of the rich Tunis. Attacked both by sea and land, the obstinate defence which its citizens offered was of little avail; and though not taken and sacked, yet the enormous tribute which was exacted by the Spanish Hageb, for raising the siege and withdrawing his army, was so great, as to impoverish the town for many years. The insult to the King was thus amply avenged, and the services of Ahmed appear to have been richly recompensed;\* but the results of this ex-

\* The King bestowed on him a pension of 100,000



pedition were disastrous. The Soldan of Egypt vowed vengeance against the Andalousians, and overthrew their power in Africa to accomplish it.

The internal troubles of the kingdom of Leon prevented any renewal of war upon the frontier. Sixteen years before this period, (A. D. 950) Ramiro had expired, and left a disputed succession to his children, Ordono and Sancho. The short reign of the former was employed in repressing the tumults caused by the

dinars of gold, which, at the weight of one mechtal of Arabia, was of the value of ten francs each dinar; hence the whole sum was equal to £40,000 per annum, which added to the other revenues of the Hageb and the spoils of the Emir, must have raised the rental of Ahmed to much above the average fortunes of the richest men of the present age.—Vide Bib. Or. vol. i, p. 605.

latter, and when he died, he left his crown to his son, Bermudus. Against this infant prince the standard of revolt was raised in favour of Sancho, who was the nephew of the King of Navarre ; but his election as King of Leon was speedily put an end to, and his party being defeated, Sancho fled to his uncle, in Navarre, where a serious malady attacked and endangered his life. Report had justly vaunted the skill of the physicians of Cordova, and the polite and generous Abdalrahman received, as a guest in his capital, one of the most inveterate enemies of his faith and power.\* The

\* Mariana, lib. 8. c. 7. tom. 1. Conde, vol. i. c. 21. Cardonne, in his history of Abdalrahman, makes no mention of this circumstance ; and indeed his whole account is so much at variance with the authors from whom I have ventured to draw my narrative,

medicines of the Moslem leach proved entirely successful ; nor, on his return to

that the whole reign is, under Cardonne's hands, entirely changed. 1. He makes him (as I before remarked) the nephew, not the grandson of Abdalla ; in this he is supported by d'Herbelot, vol. i, p. 18, and allows that he conquered all the rebels, and put down faction throughout the kingdom. 2. After the destruction of Talavera by Ordono, Abdalrahman applies to the Moors in Africa for assistance against the Christians ! and with this assistance, makes the Christians again victorious ! Of the wars in Africa, the siege of Tunis, the visit of Sancho, and the general success of Abdalrahman, he makes no mention whatever, excepting in summing up the King's character and exploits, when he merely lets fall the fact of the African expedition thus : " avide de gloire et de conquêtes il fit équiper une flotte chargée de troupes, et s'empara de Zeuta et Seldjemessah en Afrique," p. 328. Zeuta was indeed an easy conquest, but Seldjemessah was 122 French leagues, or 366 English miles from Zeuta, and the army had to

his country, did Sancho forget their cure nor the kind hospitality and good faith of his royal host. In contesting his rights, he sought and obtained the effectual aid of the Arabians ; and in the fight between that prince and Ordono, the Christians were astounded at the appearance of the Mohammedan standards, and at the shouts of the Moslems in the victory of Sancho. This prince retained a lively sense of friendship and good-will towards the Andalousians ; and on his accession to the crown, he concluded a

traverse a hostile country, filled with Berbers and robbers, and the partizans of the Fatimites—all enemies to the Spanish Omniades, and to fight their way through the Atlas chain, before they could arrive at the latter town.—Vide d'Anville, *Geog.* vol. ii. 590. d'Herbelot, *Bib. Or.* vol. iii, *De la Géographie Descript.* Malte-Brun, p. 691.

treaty of peace and amity with the Kings of Cordova.

The Egyptian Soldan had invaded the states of Fez and of Tahart, and had swept all opposition before him. Abdalrahman, although he had lost the energy of his youth and the friends of his earlier days, did not tamely suffer this insult. Re-assembling his forces, under experienced commanders, he sent out a large army to Africa, where, in a series of successful exploits, he retrieved his honour, and victory once more crowned the declining days of the Arabian King.

A. D. 960. Those days were chiefly passed in the seclusion of the Azhara palace, where all the magnificence of military state, and all the elegant luxury that taste and riches could command, were employed to gratify his vanity,

pride, and pleasure. The superb seraglio of Abdalrahman, his wives and eunuchs, amounted to upwards of six thousand persons ; and when he moved abroad, he was attended in his progress by twelve thousand cavaliers, whose belts and scimetars were of massy gold.\* In the retirement of private hours, his ears were regaled and his senses gratified by the voices and the presence of his favourite ladies ;† and when their accomplishments and talents had amused him for many

\* Cardonne, tome i. p. 334.

† Azhara is not among the number ; she therefore must have been dead ; but her memory was preserved in a beautiful statue of her, which surmounted the grand entrance of the palace or village, and which, though contrary to law and religion, the power of the King caused to be placed there.—Vide Cardonne, tom. i, p. 330.

hours, he retired to converse with his friend Suleiman. The youth of the latter had been passed in the camp and the city; but at a more advanced age, he had retired to the charms of a philosophic life, and to the happy occupations of beneficence and charity. The minds of Abdalrahman and Suleiman were strongly in accordance, and the friendship of each had been long and sincere. Under the virtuous name of Suleiman, the generous hand of the King distributed charity among the poor and destitute; and to him the monarch repeated that singular avowal, which astonished a world, who, judging from outward appearances, had envied and admired the happiness of Abdalrahman.

“ I have now,” said he, “ reigned fifty years, have conquered my enemies, done

good to my subjects, and been equally dreaded by my foes and admired by my friends. Riches and honour have obeyed my call, and waited on my summons ; and all earth's products and man's intelligence have been borrowed to supply my wants and minister to my pleasure. In this long period of time, I have carefully set down my happy days. Fourteen fills up the number, and attests the fallacy of this world's hopes, and the vanity of all its desires."\*

\* Cardonne, p. 329, Bib. Or. vol. i, Casiri, tom. 2. Conde, vol. i, Ascargorta, Hist. d'Esp. vol. i. The temperament of Abdalrahman seems ever to have been melancholy, and his poetry evinces a spirit suffering from late calamities, and dreading future misfortunes :

“ The wounded heart exhales in plaintive sighs ;  
nor while the boisterous wind and raging storm pour



The splendour of Abdalrahman soon passed away ; and of those sumptuous halls of Azhara, which cost so much time and upwards of three millions sterling to erect, not a vestige now remains. The works of man are, indeed, far more permanent than his own existence ; yet, in the boundless annals of time, his life and

out their vengeance, can we hope to taste of calm. Alas ! my spring flowers (a) perished in their rising bloom ; and now I fear the blast may rend my lilies(b) from their stem. My happy hours are gone—perished is my pride. Dull night at length is come ; and well I know no new spring morn shall dissipate its shades, nor smile again upon my grief struck heart !”

(a) His early joys ; perhaps, the death of his son.

(b) His white hairs, or old age : he died aged — seventy-four ; he ascended the throne at twenty-four— years of age, and reigned fifty to fifty-one years.

his labours may equally be measured as a fleeting moment.\*

But the wisdom and the virtues of the King of Cordova stand recorded in the eternal halls of memory, while his pomp and his palaces have for ever disappeared and “left not a wrack behind.” Human life has an inevitable though uncertain term, and its limits had been liberally extended towards Abdalrahman the Third. The death of a great prince, and the close of a splendid reign, during which the power, the wealth, and the pride of the Arabs in Spain rose to their zenith,

• Fall and Decline, c. 81 ; and probably the cement and marbles of Azhara were appropriated, by degrees, to the same purposes as the ruins of Rome. Pinkerton says the destruction of it was in the long wars—“the barbarous and fanatic wars of the middle ages.”—Pinkerton, *Geog. of Europe*, p. 183.

demand a few observations from the historian, and may merit some attention from the reflecting reader.

## CHAPTER V.

Retrospect—Christianity—The Goths—Rise of Literature.

IN a savage state, the wants, and therefore the occupations of man, are few and simple. The easy attainment of his desires, the love of gain, and the thirst for conquest, alone predominate in his mind, and excite his passions, while in a ferocious courage resides his only standard of the power, or utility of the human race. Ever ready to shed his blood, in order to satisfy his pride, or satiate his love of plunder, he is equally

reluctant to employ his force, in tilling the earth, or acquiring property, and ease by any, but his favourite means.\* The sword and the torch appear the symbols of his power and policy; the effeminacy of peace, he contemns; and the moral force, and progress of the human intellect, he neither possesses, nor desires.†

\* Nec arare terram aut expectare annum, tam facile persuaseris, quam vocare hostes, et vulnera mereri: pigrum quin imò et iners videtur, sudore acquirere, quod, possis sanguine parare, § 14. De Mor. Germ. See also Montesquieu's remarkable and exact translation of this passage: *Esprit des Lois*, l. 30, C. 3.

† Hoc solo, (id est *Romani*) nomine, quisquid ignobilitatis, quisquid timiditatis, quisquid avaritiæ, quisquid luxuriæ, quisquid mendacii, imò quisquid vitiorum est, comprehendentes.—Liutprandi *legatio citata ex Scriptorib Ital.*, vol. ii., p. 481, Muratori.

Such were the early tribes who founded ancient Rome, such the coeval nations who conquered or settled down in Italy. In after years, the power of that splendid Empire withered in the barbarian's grasp, because its valour was exhausted by the conquest of the world, and all the simple virtues of its founders had disappeared in the luxury, or imbecility of their descendants. The government of the world dropped piecemeal into the hands of a people who easily dismembered it by the very means which the early Romans had employed to acquire it. Of the pure and indigenous people,\* the

\* *Ipsos Germanos, indigenas crediderim, minimè-que aliarum gentium adventibus, ut hospitibus mixtos.* Mor. Germ. 2. After ages have discovered, in this opinion of Tacitus, an error, and the flight of Oden from the Euxine, has been imagined, and the proba-

Roman author has given, on the whole, a far from uninteresting account. While he details their ferocity in war, their love of pillage and their ignorance of the charms, or occupations of civilised life, he describes with equal exactness and candour, their simplicity, their romantic love for their women, their fidelity in promise, their sacred respect for hospitality, and the free spirit natural to savage and roving individuals. All these qualities formed a striking contrast to those of the Romans of that period. Amongst these, all such virtues had been long extinct, and even the finer feelings of humanity were lost among a people, who numbered the murder of an Em-

ble descent of the northern hordes more accurately determined by greater and more laborious writers.

peror for fifty successive years, and who closed the business or the follies of the day, by the disgusting excitement of the Spoliarium, and the indiscriminate slaughter of men and wild animals.\* To the barbaric virtues, the empire could offer no resistance, and consequently when the Goths attacked it, it gave way, and the tribes of the North became the rulers, and their leaders the Princes of Europe. As the power of the Goths increased, the Western Empire was completely subdued ; in the luxuriant plains of Italy, the Lombards recivilised both the vanquished and the victors,

\* The place where the dead and dying gladiators were dragged to, by a hook stuck in their bodies, from the reeking arena, smoking with the blood of bipeds and quadrupeds !—Vide Senec. Epist., No. 93. Plin. C. 36.



while the more savage tribes of Huns, Franks, and Vandals overwhelmed Gaul, Germany and Great Britain. Among the court and populace of Constantinople, Paganism had already been discarded, and that Imperial city enclosed a curious assemblage of theologists, polemics, horse jockeys, and charioteers. While each day the empire lost a kingdom, a province, or a colony, the attention of the capital, and of the Emperors was absorbed in the useful and dignified quarrels of the Arians, Athanasians, Nestorians, Manicheans, and hundred other violent disputants, whose extraordinary occupation, and chief pleasure seemed to consist, in laying down the principle, that their belief was incomprehensible, and then proceeding to explain it. The Gothic tribes, in their

turn, embraced the name of Christianity. Ever addicted to superstition in its darkest forms, they continued, under the new appellation of Christians, their ancient practice, and belief in charms, divination, and sorcery.\* The religion they had embraced was but the shadow of that, preached by the founder ; its pure doctrine no longer existed, legends, and unmeaning dogmas had supplied its place, and among the millions who professed, we can discover few, who either knew or practised the virtues of Christianity. Without a notion of its sublime object, or of the means by which that object was to be attained, the new world rose to eminence and power in the practice of debauchery, rapine, and murder, and men were easily persuaded, that they

\* Mor. Germ. § 10.

~~some~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~monks~~ ~~repentance~~ of their sins,  
~~it~~ ~~is~~ ~~only~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~of~~ ~~devotion~~, or by  
~~the~~ ~~most~~ ~~valuable~~ ~~and~~ ~~useful~~ ~~endowments~~  
~~in~~ ~~monks~~ ~~and~~ ~~monasteries~~. On these  
~~points~~ ~~they~~ ~~were~~ ~~permitted~~ ~~to~~ ~~commit~~  
~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~monasteries~~ ~~with~~ ~~ignorant~~ ~~fanatic~~  
~~and~~ ~~violations~~ ~~and~~ ~~to~~ ~~violate~~ ~~all~~ ~~the~~  
~~rules~~ ~~which~~ ~~the~~ ~~religion~~ ~~prescribes~~  
~~the~~ ~~monks~~

The ~~monks~~ ~~of~~  ~~Gaul~~ ~~and~~ ~~Germany~~,  
~~they~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~monks~~ ~~were~~ ~~not~~ ~~sufficient~~  
~~to~~ ~~subvert~~ ~~the~~ ~~ambition~~ ~~and~~ ~~avarice~~ ~~of~~  
~~the~~ ~~Alans~~ ~~and~~ ~~they~~ ~~invaded~~ ~~the~~ ~~south~~  
~~of~~ ~~Europe~~ ~~and~~ ~~carried~~ ~~fire~~ ~~and~~ ~~sword~~  
~~into~~ ~~the~~ ~~recesses~~ ~~of~~ ~~Africa~~ ~~and~~ ~~Egypt~~.  
Spain, the richest and most civilised  
province of Rome, yielded to their arms,  
received the laws of Evaricus, and the  
customs of the Visigoths; while the  
power of the Church was immense, and

its tyranny commensurate. The Ecclesiastics of Spain ordained laws, which reveal the spirit of ignorant prejudice, and bespeak a ferocious pride ; and in the ordonnances of the bishops of that day, we may discover the original of those monstrous laws, which were faithfully copied, and successfully enforced by the inquisition, in a later age.\* Africa was the scene of terrific devastation. This granary of Rome, and the provinces which compose its fertile district, were ravaged, sacked and burnt by an unmitigating fury. The inhabitants were cruelly massacred, and the dignity of civil and religious superstition, then, as now, represented in the persons of the noble and the priest, were laughed

\* Montesquieu : *Esprit des Lois*, l. 28, C. 1.

at request, and annihilated. The immunities of age, the tenderness of sex, were equally disregarded, and the barbarians appear, in this instance, to have lost in imagination the generous virtues and romantic spirit of their ancestry: No extent of carnage satiated their thirst for blood: no quantity of plunder appeased their avidity for spoil.

In the close of the tenth century, the literature of modern Europe was again destined to unfold, and the northern tribes were assuming a fixed, and definite territory. In receiving the religion of the Prophet, Asia had expelled them from her shores; Africa had been reconquered by the armies of Medina; and beyond the frontiers of the Pyrenees, the Arab power governed, and civilised the universe.

The rise of literature in modern Europe, although now a remote event, may be accurately traced to the connexion which long subsisted between the people of Provence, and the Spaniards. Accustomed to the elegance, the fire, and the gigantic imagery of the Arabian poetry, the refugees of Galicia, and the Asturias, imbibed similar ideas, and the Provencal copied, according to his ability, the style, and sentiments of the Eastern bards. The prevailing characteristics of Gothic poetry may, although a still more ancient event, be derived from the same fertile source, and though the flight of Odin,\* has been now abandoned as an

\* An idea entertained by Gibbon, in the first volume, and renounced by him, as incredible, in the last volume of his great history.—Vol. 1, p. 390; Vol. 12, p. 406. If the reader, not satisfied with

untenable theory, and ridiculous assumption, yet, we may discover the great political institutions of the northern tribes, to have arisen in an eastern clime. Tacitus has described the customs of these tribes with much detail, and the

tracing the analogy of all the nations of the Old Continent in those two great features, feudality and religion, pursues his researches among the people of the New World, or America, he there sees the same features displayed with clearness and exact semblance, and he doubts no more that the dispersion of the great primeval central tribes were equally the populators of Peru, as of Ethiopia, China, and Europe.—Vide Robertson's *America*, Irving's *Columbus*, *Herrera*, *Conquesta de Mexico*, and last, though not least, that acute, and interesting work, Howitt's *History of Priestcraft*, the five first chapters; a book which, to the honour of the present age, has travelled through five editions.—See also Godwin's *Lives of the Necromancers*, pp. 184, 185, 204, 205.

characteristics which he narrates of them, in their most savage state, prove their origin, and continued to prevail among them, during the middle ages, and are now extant, and visible among every nation of the civilised world. The Tartars were probably the great hive, whence swarmed the populating myriads into more attractive climes, and countries. The love of conquest, and the necessity of a continual migration,\* induced these

\* Without those restraints on matrimony which are found in more civilized communities, their (the Tartars) numbers had naturally a prodigious increase, and as they despised the idea of cultivating the ground, the same extent of country which could have maintained *thousands* of husbandmen, was found often insufficient for *hundreds* of roaming pastors. Emigration alone could remedy this inconvenience.—Richardson's Dissertations on Eastern Nations, Ch. 3, sect. 1, § 1. 142, 143.



hordes to overrun Europe, where they discharged the superfluities of their overgrown race, and the various nations described in history as Goths, Vandals, and Franks, possessed and displayed the properties of their ancestors in their love for war, wandering and rapine. The great system of feudality which they established, wherever they overthrew the Roman Empire, had flourished in the east from the earliest and unrecorded times. The election of one great chief, to whom all the clans or tribes were subject in time of war, and whose fealty expired in the shouts of victory, is only a copy of the customs of the Persians, Indians, and early Arabs. The princes, or rulers of each tribe, professed homage, and sometimes paid tribute to the supreme head, and wherever the genius or

courage of the monarch equalled, or excelled those, of his tributary lords, these remained in subjection, and he governed in peace. Eastern history displays a successive reiteration of this fact in the numerous instances recited, where rebellion has always been created, or encouraged by the weakness, or vices of the reigning king. It was the curse of the Arabs of Spain, the scourge of the Asturian Christians, and the desolater of Asia and Africa, for ages, under the caliphate. The allotment of lands to different chieftains, after success in war, was also a custom of the east, practised from immemorial time, and the power of the counts and barons of Christian Europe was obtained, or extorted by means exactly similar to those employed by Rustan, the founders of the Saljucides, Ag-

labites, Fatemites, and a hundred others. The early assemblies of the Germans, the states under Charlemagne, and the parliaments of Paris, are found under other names among the nations of Asia.

The great Kahn summoned the tribes of Tartary, the Arabians met in council at Ocad and Mecca, and the Arabs assembled at Toledo, Seville and Cordova, and ordained laws, and elected or confirmed the sovereign representative of the people.

To the genius and fancy of Arabia, (poetic from the earliest times), Europe owes her plentiful display of fairies, demons, and angels. The fables of Bidpai spoke morality through the organs of the brute creation, and the exploits of the Dives and the Peri were translated or copied in the feats of giants and fairies.

The knight of Christian romance had already figured in the tales of Rustan, Haherman, and Alph, the love and gallant devotion to woman, or the redress and protection of some innocent and injured Peri, was the exciting cause for their feats of valour and chivalry.

The spirit and the practice of tournaments, and of single combats, where the power and skill of one devoted warrior were employed and displayed for the safety of thousands, is exemplified through ancient history, and adds another proof of the similarity which prevailed in the customs of the eastern world, and those of the northern Goths.

Among the lovely scenes of Arabia Felix, seven hundred years before the era of Provençal literature commences, the Arabians were used to assemble to enjoy

the pleasures of fancy and vivid imagery in the poems of their country, to hear the eloquence of the learned, and the harangues of their impassioned brethren. An unclouded sun, a serene atmosphere, and the tempered climate of Yemen, were peculiarly happy elements for poetry to spring from ; these imparted to it a most luxurious tone, while the wide deserts, and inaccessible mountains inspired an exalted, and perhaps an exaggerated style, and the similes, so much loved by the Arabs, were like their own sensations, vehement and gigantic.\*

The immortal work of Mohammed is a vestige of his rich fancy : it combines

\* Sir W. Jones' Essay I, on the Poetry of Eastern Nations, pp. 163 to 183 ; *Mélanges Asiatiques*, vol. 2, C. 4, p. 181.

the fervid tones of an enthusiast with the tender accents of a poet, and its denunciations are as awful as they are sublime\*.

The wealth and the power of the Abasides were generously displayed in their unbounded patronage of the arts, sciences, and literature. Almansor the Second caliph of that race, was a lover of poetry, letters, and philosophy ; but his favourite pursuit was the useful and sublime science of astronomy. In the construction of imperial Bagdad, he consulted the wants of his astronomers, and various lofty and beautiful towers adorned the banks of the Tigris, for the purpose

\* See Gagnier, *Vie de Mohammed*, on the style of this work, vol. 3, p. 366 ; Sale's Preface to *Alcoran*, and also on the skill and knowledge of the Prophet in Medicine ; See Gagnier, tome 3, c. 21.

of taking the celestial observations. In his reign, the celebrated Greek physician, George Backtwishaw, or Bocht Jesu, cured the Caliph of a disorder, and was, in return, honoured and recompensed by distinguished employments ; and to an indigestion of Almanzor, the Arabians owed great progress in the medical science, and the works of the learned physician still amuse, and enlighten the students of eastern history.

The court of Hâroun Al Raschid was filled with poets, astronomers, physicians, and grammarians, and this literary prince never left his palace without a numerous retinue of the skilled and learned in his suite. The glory of these two reigns, great though it was, was eclipsed by the splendour of the succeeding caliph, Al Mâmoun. All arts, and every science

sought and found with him, an equal protection, and he principally attended to the means by which a wide and general diffusion of all kinds of knowledge should take place throughout his dominions. To every mosque a college was attached, where the Greek and Arabic languages were cultivated with assiduity and success. The Koran was carefully revised and republished, the laws, civil and religious, were studied and improved, and the healing art made still further and more brilliant progress. Natural history was attended to, and the most celebrated Greek authors were translated and read by the caliph and his court.

The science of chemistry was formed and improved; the Arabs invented the great alembics for distillation they, dived into the secrets of nature, discovered and



displayed the affinities of chalks and acids, and proclaimed the powers and different uses of the earth's minerals. Their fervid imaginations led them often away into the wild speculations of fancy, where their chemistry degenerated into a pursuit of alchemy, and their observations of the heavenly bodies into attempts at drawing the horoscopes, and predicting the destinies of mankind. The conquered provinces of Syria, Armenia, and Egypt, rich in literary and scientific stores, furnished their abundance to the capital of the Abassides. Camels daily entered the gates of the city loaded with books that were revised by skilful professors, translated by learned grammarians, and scattered with profusion among an eager and curious people. For three hundred years the Abassides

encouraged, and the Arabians of the Eastern world pursued with zeal and success the studies and the possession of the arts and sciences. Among all these, however, poetry was the favourite art. The abstruse sciences, the learned languages, might be cultivated by the prince, the noble, and the philosopher ; but the accents of the poet attracted and entranced the attention of all classes.\*

\* See Guinguené, *Hist. Lit.* ; vol. 2, c. 3 and 4. *Littérature du Midi* par Sismondi, vol. 1, c. 2 and 3. Gibbon, vol. 10, c. 52, 53, 54, &c. Cournand, *Révolutions de la Littérature*, c. 10 ; and for the general facts of this and the following chapter, see the above works—Sir W. Jones, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, *Alcoran* ; Pocock, *Specimen and Dynasties* ; Richardson's *Dissertations* ; *Esprit des Mœurs*, vol. 1 ; MSS. of the Escorial and Bib. du Roi ; *Vie des Troubadours*, vol. 1 ; *Antiquitates Ital.*, vol. 2 and 3, &c. The Saracens became a literary people. The prosperity

The style and the sentiments were chaste and tender, the love of woman impassioned and profound ; yet, the

of the Mohammedan empire did not relax their ardour, and subsequent political distractions interrupted not the acquisition of knowledge. The arts and sciences were patronized by the caliphs of the East, of the West, and of Africa. At one period, six thousand professors cultivated liberal studies in the college of Bagdad. Twenty schools made Grand Cairo a chief seat of letters, and the talents of the students were exercised in the perusal of the royal library, which consisted of one hundred thousand manuscripts. The African writers dwell with pride and satisfaction on the literary institutions which adorned the towns on the northern coast of their sandy plains. The sun of science arose even in Almagreb, and the manners of the Moorish savage were softened by philosophy.—Hist. of Mohammedanism, c. 6, p. 386. The establishment of the Saracens in the Peninsula (Spain) was completed in the eighth century, and the elder Spanish romances are strongly tinged with Arabic.

sterner chaunt of the bard could excite the warrior to arms, as the lay of the minstrel enchanted the harem and refined the populace. The Arabian troubadour, and the Eastern Trouvère were equally courted and caressed, and in music and sculpture the Arabs gave lessons to the world.

## CHAPTER VI.

Prosperity of Spain under Abdalrahman—Cordova—  
Productions—Commerce—The arts—Literature—  
Medicine—Al-Hakim ascends the throne—Rebel-  
lion of the Zanhags.

THE Ommiades in Spain were not excelled by their proud adversaries in the east. Anxious and able to emulate the literary glories of Bagdad, the cities of Andalous were distinguished for their refinement in arts and sciences.

I attempt not to delineate all the glories and utility of the Spanish Arabs, at this epoch, I draw but a faint outline of a splendour which has never been exceeded, and the deeper knowledge, or the

vivid fancies of my reader, must fill up and perfect the brilliancy and colouring of the picture.

The riches, the physical force, and the commerce of Spain, under the reign of Abdalrahman and his successor, form the great proofs of the power and civilisation of the people. Besides the large sums spent in frequent and protracted wars, and in the invasion of Africa and Egypt, Abdalrahman maintained a standing army of 100,000 men, a large and rapidly increasing navy, 12,000 horse body guards most gorgeously caparisoned ; 6,300 persons in his household, and a stud of 4,000 blood horses for his private use. He built, at an expence of three millions sterling, the palace, and the town of Azhara, he laid down noble aqueducts, irrigated large agricultural

districts, erected mosques, colleges, and halls in Seville, Murcia, Toledo, and Cordova, and embellished the latter with rich specimens of arts and architecture.\* He formed large libraries, he

\* Among the most remarkable still extant, is the great tower, built by the celebrated architect Geber near Seville; the aqueducts in various places, the mosque of Cordova, and the Alhambra of Granada, vide d'Anville, *Géogr. Descr. de Malte-Brun* and Pinkerton's *Geography of Spain*. The style and solidity of the Arabian architecture was unique, and more than any other combined grace and solidity. Wherever time has been its only enemy, the building of the Arabian architect has still defied its ravages, where modern erections have been added on, a few centuries have witnessed their crumbling ruins, while still the old Moresco edifice derides the power of the elements and the efforts of the arch destroyer. The stones used were of an immense size, and the mortar called *japia* used to cement the walls, floors and ceilings, was a well kneaded mixture of quick

welcomed and richly rewarded the literator, the artist, and the philosopher, and the various efforts which were made during his reign to improve commerce, and to perfect agriculture, are still extant and visible signs of an enlarged and useful magnificence. The taxes of five millions of thriving subjects, the commercial customs, called Azak, or one-tenth on the value of the imports, and the legal tithe paid either in kind or money on the vast and precious productions of the fertile land, the accumulated booty in foreign wars, the tribute from Jews and Christians,\*

lime and sand, run into the apertures and hammered down with iron instruments by the hands of powerful and skilful workmen, vide Guinguené, *Hist. Litt. C.* 4, p. 208 ; Conde, *C.* 25, p. 231 ; and *Tableau des Révolutions de l'Europe*, par Koch, t. 2, p. 37.

\* The tribute money was exacted from all the



and from conquered provinces, formed the vast springs from whence the Arab monarch drew the yearly supplies of eight millions sterling, which were to support his proud splendour, and again

Jews and Christians throughout the Andalousian state, wherever no marriage with any Arabian man or woman had taken place, vide Casiri, Bibl. Arab Hisp. tome 2, Cardonne, tome 1. The treaty between Abdalrahman I, and the Gallicians was thus expressed, "In the name of the most merciful God, The magnificent King Abdalrahman, grants peace and protection to all the laymen and ecclesiastics, Christians of Spain. On his soul he swears faith, fully to observe the treaty, provided the Christians do deliver or cause to be delivered into his treasury, for five successive years, 10,000 ounces of virgin gold and 10,000 ounces of pure silver, 10,000 horses, and as many mules, 1000 breast plates, 1000 lances, 1000 swords. Done at Cordova, the 3rd of the Moon, Safer. Heg. Ann. 142." Vide *Los Arabes en España*, par Conde, vol. 1, c. 20.

returned to augment his country's prosperity.

The capital contained 200,000 houses, 600 temples and colleges, and 900 public baths. In the Andalousian territory the traveller might have numbered 80 chief cities or Walisates, 300 towns or Wazirah, and 18,000 villages or alcaldas. The census of Cordova returned one million souls, and the great cities of the empire were, in all cases, equally thickly populated.\*

The sketch of Abdalrahman's reign

\* Cardonne, tom. 1, p. 337, Conde loc. cit. C. 38, Bibl. Arab. Hisp. &c. The former writer, trusting to Arab romance, writes, that on the Guadalquivir alone, were to be seen 12,000 villages or alcaldes, or 60 villages for every mile!! The river flowing from its source to its entrance into the sea, above Cadiz, about 200 miles.

has shown the power and extent of his military and naval operations, and the splendour of his commerce was proved in the numbers of cargo ships which, issuing from the various parts of Spain, sought in the luxurious city of the Bosphorus, and the rich towns of Syria and Egypt, to traffic and exchange the respective wants of the East and West.

The armour and cutlery of Spain\* were in high repute throughout the war-like dominions of the Fatemites; and the cloths and silks of Grenada, Murcia, and Baza were eagerly sought for by the merchants of Alexandria, Aleppo, and Byzantium. These, with the cele-

\* Among the best works for cutlery were those established at Ronda in the south. Malte-Brun, *Géogr. Descr. de l'Espagne*, about 67 miles N.W. of Gibraltar; d'Anville, tome 2, p. 214.

brated leather called morocco,\* (which was prepared in high perfection,) spun cottons, oils, iron, cochineal, and quick-silver,† formed the chief branches of the export trade. The returns were usually effected in the drugs and spices of the East, in the rice and cotton of Egypt, and in the sugars and dyes of Asia and India. In the precious metals, Spain was, at that day, abundant ; on the coasts of Andalousia, the coral divers pursued their trade with a rich success ; and on the Catalonian shores the pearl

\* This manufacture was imported from the Fezzan and other states of West Africa, where it appears to have existed from time immemorial, and is still extant at this day.

† Vide geograph. appendix to this work.

fishery opened a field, for large and rapid returns.\*

In their commercial treaties, the Arabs of Spain preserved a free trade with Constantinople, and all the ports of the Greek empire, with the Emirs of Africa and Egypt, and those of the Syrian coast.

Nor were the arts cultivated with less energy or success. As lovers of agriculture, no nation has ever possessed more just and beneficial laws than the Agrarian edicts of the Spanish Arabs, and nowhere, either in the ancient or the modern world, has the sowing and reaping of the earth been aided by more of the intelligence, activity, and policy of the

\* Ibidem, Cardonne and Conde, tom. 1, and Bib. Arab. Hisp. tom. 2.

powerful and learned, than in the kingdom of Andalouz.

Many inventions of the present age, more especially those which contribute to literature, are due to Arabian intellect and skill. Paper, ink, and binding are the arts of the Spaniard under Abdalrahman. From the East, that monarch imported the culture of the rice, the sesame, and the sugarcane. In the vast and magnificent gardens of his palaces he gave a pleasing proof of the talent and industry of man, by the simultaneous culture of plants and fruits, from different climates, which equally flourished in the sweet atmosphere of Spain. The African palm-tree saluted the orange-blossoms of Seville, while the olive of Syria, and the sugar-cane of India threw up their stems amidst the graceful ten-

drills of the loaded vine. The ports of Sidonia, Almeria, Valentia, and Arragon, were beautified, deepened, and enlarged, and the bay of Algeciras alone could reckon upwards of sixty foreign vessels constantly in harbour. The Jews appear to have enjoyed the monopoly of the foreign commerce, while the Arabs gave their attention chiefly to manufactures and agriculture.

In jurisprudence, they bowed to the law of their Prophet, and the will of God.

The copious richness of their language was studied and revised, and the colleges of Granada, Seville, and Cordova, were placed under the direction of celebrated professors. Great libraries were carefully collected by the kings, and magnificent buildings erected to receive them. The Meruan palace at Cordova, the Al-

cazars of Murcia, Seville, and Toledo, were filled with manuscripts, which have since enriched or encumbered the shelves of European collections. All that was interesting in men of science, or eminent among the learned, were invited into Spain, their works were studied and imitated; and the literary Al-Hakim II, the founder of the Cordovan academy, presented upwards of 600,000 volumes for the public use of his capital. The number of Arabic authors that Spain produced, was indeed so immense that many separate accounts were written of the biography of those born in the different cities, and also of those who applied themselves to particular branches of arts, sciences, or literature. The monarchs of Cordova carefully encouraged the eloquence of the pulpit. The Khotbah



rose from a mere invocation for the prosperity of prince and people, to be a rational and impressive discourse, where the authority of the Koran was quoted, and the ability of the Khetab displayed, in denouncing vice, and immorality, and in exciting in the hearts of his audience, the love and respect for their religion, and the precepts of virtue.

“Accustom yourselves,” said one Ahmed Ben Khetab, “O my children ! to obey the laws, and to treat with respect the King, who is the successor of the Prophet, and the dispenser of God’s mercy ; and be ye, the one to another, charitable and just, and forgive one another the sins, for such is Allah towards you ; and if ye forget your brothers, so neither will he remember you,” &c.

In medicine, I have already observed, that the skill of the Arabs was justly renowned and their good faith was so well known, that a Christian king did not hesitate to trust his life to their care and tenderness. In the fields of speculative philosophy, the Spanish Arabs equally vied with their brethren of the East. In the palaces of the monarch, and of his favourite minister, the Hagib Ahmed, these philosophers met, to discuss and promulgate their opinions. The celebrated Ben Cassem ; the Cadi Aben Jahrab ; the Wazir, Issa Ben Aschab ; and the opulent physician, Zahrawi ; opened their houses at all hours to the learned and eminent in arts or sciences. Zahrawi established, in his house, a rendezvous of celebrated physicians, who were considered to have founded the

school of which Averroes became afterwards the most illustrious disciple.\*

\* One of the most able and eminent philosophers of the Arabs in Spain. His time was about the middle of the twelfth century; he was a native of Cordova, he introduced the great theories of Aristotle, and gave lectures on the same, and his life and writings have been noticed and fully discussed by Hottiger, Vossius, and by the erudite Bayle; see also *Bibl. Or.* d'Herbelot, *Art. Rosch*, of which Bayle complains (note Q, and very justly.) His whole name was Abon Valid Ben Mohammed Ben Achmed Ben Rashd. He travelled into Africa, and was president of the great Fezzan college for many years. Samarcand was famous for having transmitted to the Arabs the art of making paper, and the Arabs improved and perfected it by inventing the manufacture of linen.—See *History of Mohammedanism*, c. 2, p. 118, and the divers authorities there quoted in c. 5, note, p. 283. The herbal of Dioscorides was enriched by the Saracens, with additions of two thousand plants; and their knowledge of the vegetable

In the perfumed gardens of the Guadalquivir, and in the suburbs of the royal Cordova, amidst a great and prosperous people, enriched with the elegance of arts, and the treasures of science and literature, the stranger wandered in an unclouded clime, whose sultry heat was tempered by the serene and freshened breeze, that usually rose at eventide, and seemed, as if in paradise. The smiling face of nature, the skill and intelli-

world enabled them to insert in their pharmacopeia several remedies which had been unknown to the Greeks. The labours of the Arabs might, even in the present day, be of service (at least, such is the opinion of Sprengel) if our physicians would study the Arabic language, and the medical writings of Messecæ, Geber, Razes, Averroes, and Avicenna.—Bibl. Arab. Hisp. Hist. de Médecine par Scuderi; Sprengel, p. 343; Beithar, MSS. Escorial, p. 834; Vide. History of Mohammedanism, vol. 1, c. 6.

gence of man, were presented to his observations in their most gorgeous colouring. As his eye glanced on the city, it embraced vast gardens, salubrious fountains, marble halls and palaces ; the graceful temples of the Prophet's God, and the public colleges of taste and instruction. The glittering array of the King's Slavonian guards, their fiery steeds, their splendid arms, their music, and the sound of their thrilling tecbir\*, struck his eyes

\* The tecbir was the martial trumpet and war cry of the Arabians, and its sound was most inspiring—its notes were heard for miles round. The other martial instruments were Sili, a deep tone, the Yemens, the cymbals, and the drum. The favourite implements of the lover and the poet were the minnim, or small lyre, and the ancient Barbut, the Aber or flute, and the Kitar, so much used by the Spanish Arabs, a lute of six strings—hence the word guitar. The drums of the Arabs were called Tehl : and Teblek answers to our kettle-drum. Gamdum the great

and ears with admiration and awe.\* From time to time beauty, (such as Araby and Spain alone can show) crossed his path, and fixed his entranced regards. While, as he wandered from the capital to its less stirring environs, his vision was overwhelmed by the multitude of palaces, villages, and hamlets teeming with population, industry, and wealth. In the

trumpet of the infantry, the Buri or hunting clarion, and the hautboys and pipes were called Sanai.—See *Conjectures on Eastern Music*, Richardson, p. 208, 212; Guingené, c. 4; *Essai de Laborde, de la Musique Arabe*, tom. 1, p. 178, de M. de St. Paterne, Cardonne, &c.

\* The Sclavonian guard were divided into three companies of four thousand each: one on duty with the King at the Azhara, one at the Meruan palace in Cordova, and one ready for active service.—Vid. Cardonne, *Conde*, *Bibl. Hisp.*, and *MSS. de l'Habitude chez les Orientaux*, *Bib. du Roi*, Voce "Orient."

rich gardens of the noble, the gay lover swept the strings of his kitar, whilst in this region of love, amidst Eastern splendour, and in perfumed gales, he poured forth, at the feet of beauty, those strains of passion and poetic thought, whose fragments, wafted to the frontier, were eagerly caught up by the aspiring troubadour, and again re-echoed through the plains and cities of Europe.\*

\* When Provence was annexed to the throne of Berenger, Count of Catalonia, and the Provençals and Catalonians became intermixed, a direct and immediate impression of oriental sentiments and manners was made upon the Christian world. The Provençal poets are indebted for some of their most beautiful images to their acquaintance with Arabic literature. The notions of honour, the mysticism of love, the harmonious blending of opinion and sentiment, the romantic grace of manners, and the character of the female sex, which the Troubadours des-

The wise and generous policy of Abdalrahman had, for a long time, ceded to his son, a portion of the cares of government, and when Ahmed Ben Zaid died, the prince Al-Hakim became the minister of state. The long duration of Abdalrahman's reign, although a subject for pleasantry to that monarch,\* was a matter of great importance to the prosperity of his people. The youth of the prince was free from the temptations of an unbridled authority; his manhood was confirmed by the precepts and example of a wise and vir-

cribe, are in accordance with the general strain of oriental poetry; and rhyme, one great characteristic of the moderns, was derived by those bards from Arabic measure.—Jones' Works, vol. 5; *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. 4, p. 470.

\* "It is at thy expence, my son," said Abdalrahman, "that I live so long!"—Conde, *loc. cit.*



tuous court ; and when, on his father's death, Al-Hakim ascended the throne at the mature age of forty-eight years, he combined every quality which could render him a worthy successor to so great a King, and all that could contribute to maintain the happiness of the empire. On the morrow of Abdalrahman's decease, he was proclaimed the King of Andalouz.

The ceremony of his inauguration was imposing, and gives some idea of the splendour and customs of the time. In the grand hall of audience at the Azhara, the new King appeared, seated on the throne of the Prophet. Around, were his brothers, and the other members of the royal family. Beyond these were ranged, in grand costume, the captains of the Spanish, African, and Sclavonian re-

giments ; and the Hageb, and all the Wazirs of state were placed at the foot of the throne. The royal body guard, with their splendid costume, their shields, and unsheathed scimetars, stretched along the stately hall ; and the black eunuchs of the seraglio and household, in white tunics, and with glittering battle-axes, were imposingly displayed in double file. In the great courts, and in the gardens of the palace, select battalions from all the different regiments were drawn up with their music and standards ; and the outer gates were guarded by a legion of white slaves, armed with scimetars. The town of Azhara was crowded with men of eminence, nobles, citizens from the capital, and foreign ministers. The oaths of allegiance and fidelity were proffered and accepted, and the shouts

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of the vast multitude, rising through the gorgeous halls, proclaimed Al-Hakim King.

On the succeeding day, the interment of Abdalrahman took place in Cordova. The guards lined the streets from the palace to the superb mausoleum, constructed for the final resting place. The different bodies of the law and medicine, the great Imams and preachers attended the mournful procession, and all classes of the people accompanied the body to its tomb.

“Lost to us is our father,” they cried, in the bitterness of their grief, “the protector of the weak, the benefactor of the poor, the terror of the wicked, the defender of Islamism.” But their despair was softened, and their hopes revived by the universal expression of all men’s opi-

nions on the happy prospects of Al-Hakim's reign. In the song of the poet, and in the sermons of the priest, the same bright hopes were held out, the same bright future predicted. The mind of Al-Hakim was addicted to every useful pursuit, and in his government he ever encouraged peace. To preserve this blessing, he spared no exertions, both at home and abroad. The two tranquil years which followed his accession, he passed in the delicious retreat of Azhara, surrounded by all the literary men of Spain, and many of the eminent Asiatics, on whom he showered the rich marks of his approbation and esteem. But the turbulent spirit of the age could no longer permit a continuance of such pleasing prosperity to King or people. The Arab warriors sighed once more for the field of

battle, and for the excitement of victory, and the lovely scene of peace which blessed the setting of Abdalrahman's life, and welcomed in the advent of his successor, appeared likely to close, by the publication of the Alighed.\* Excited by

\* The Al i Ghàdi, vel Ghàd, vel Gedàl fi Sebel Allado, wars against Infidels in God ; the purport and the terms of this Arabic crusade were nearly the same in the time of Al-Hakim as in the days of Abou Bekr. The order of the day, issued by the former, run as follows :—" The holy war is, with all true Mussulmans a sacred duty, none are exempt from serving in it, except children who cannot obtain their parents' consent. In time of urgent danger, this exemption ceases to be valid—the first of all duties being the defence of our country, and the call of the generals to arms. *The enemy shall either profess Islamism, or pay the usual taxes* levied on all the infidels throughout our dominions. This choice, however, shall not be exercised, if the enemy is the invader. Every Mussulman who shall retreat before the enemy shall be

this warlike call, and somewhat galled by

branded as a coward, and a transgressor of the law unless for every Mohammedan there shall be, at least two unbelievers. *The women, children, and the aged shall, on all occasions, be spared*; also all religious hermits, except they shall have abetted or aided in the attack against us. *All letters of safety, granted to an enemy, can never be violated under any pretext whatsoever.* All booty (the one-fifth as by law subtracted) shall be divided on the field of battle. The cavalry soldiers shall have TWO THIRDS, the infantry ONE THIRD. Whoever shall serve in this war, even though a volunteer, and of another religion, shall have such part in the booty as his commanding officer shall judge fit. The general-in-chief shall have to distribute such rewards and distinctions as shall seem to him proper, to all those who have signalised themselves by feats of valour or skill. Any Mussulman who, among the booty to be divided, shall observe anything which may belong to him, shall so declare to the Cadis of the army. These, upon his simple oath, shall cause restitution of such object, or if the

the insinuation thrown out, that this excess of literary pursuits might have diminished, if not extinguished, whatever stock of courage he might have originally possessed, Al-Hakim proceeded to invade the frontiers, and exchange the sounds of civilised life for the savage, though thrilling shout of victory. Advancing to St. Etienne, he opened the war against the Christians; his operations were everywhere successful; the King of Leon in vain opposed his forces,

plunder has been already divided, shall pay him down in money its value."—Conde, vol. i, c. 42. The Italics which I have marked, show how unchanged the policy and laws of the Arabs remained, and the text was merely singled out to point the great preference given, and the importance attached to the cavalry over the foot soldiers.—Vide Bibl. Or., vol. ii, p. 75—200; articles Géhád and Harb.

the presence of the Arab monarch, and the exact discipline of the army, universally prevailed, and the campaign closed by the assault and taking of Zamora. The King returned to Cordova with a large booty; he was saluted as *Almostansir Billah\** by the army and people, and his triumphal entry into the capital terminated the short, but successful war. The King of Leon sued for, and easily obtained peace; and Al-Hakim, having obliterated the supposed stigma of cowardice, wisely resolved to devote the remainder of his life to useful employments, and the administration of his opulent resources.

Sancho was, at that time, King of

\* Or, " assisted by God."—Voce Mostan—sir-al-Billah.—De Sacy.



Leon and the Asturias. Tumults and rebellion were still the prevailing character of that country's history ; and the murder of the brave and generous monarch, by the hand of an ungrateful rebel, seemed likely to renew the war between the Arabs and Christians. The widow of Sancho, however, who governed during the minority of her son, Ramiro III, instantly renewed or confirmed the treaty, nor was it again infringed during the lifetime of Al-Hakim\*.

This epoch was truly the consummation of the pride and prosperity of Spain. Even the tribes of the Arabian desert had heard the praises and renown of the Ommiades, and the Chazaragites, one of the noblest and most ancient clans,

\* Mariana Hispan. Rer. Histor. vol. 1.

sought and found protection at the court of Cordova.

The abuses which had crept into the religious practices of the Mussulmans, were duly investigated by the devout monarch, and especially as to the immoderate use of wine, which had been introduced among the army on the northern frontier. To prevent this abuse, Al-Hakim issued a decree, by which two-thirds of the vines were to be annually destroyed, and the produce of the remaining one-third was to be immediately consumed, or made into sweet preserves. The grand justiciary of Spain, Ben Mondhir, was entrusted with the execution of this decree.

It were needless to detail the names, as it is impossible to narrate here, the lives of the poets, philosophers, artists,

and historians of Spain :\* who increased

\* The Imam Cassem Ben Mohammed, of Cordova, is the author of an interesting and clear work, entitled, " Akhbar al Olama al Andalous," or the great Arab doctors in law who were natives of Spain ; and the Cadhi Ayed Ben Moussa al Jahsi, born one hundred and fifty years later than Cassem, has written the lives of the illustrious men, natives of Cordova. —Bibl. Or., vol. 1, p. 150. The reader may form some idea of the variety and importance of the works of the Arabic authors, both in the East and West, by consulting with attention the Bibl. Or., vol. 2, pp. 374 to 412.—Among the most famous in the time and at the court of Al-Hakim, were Ahmed Ben Abdalmalec of Seville, the Macchiavelli of his time, and the principal magistrate of Cordova. The historian of Spain, Ahmed Ben Said el Hamdani, who lived at Azhara, in a property given him by the King, and the poet Arramedhi, whose life and adventures are interesting and characteristic, and who, while he enjoyed favour, had apartments in the Alcazar ; and last, though not least, the celebrated poet of Spain,

in number, and, for many years, pre-

Aben Ferage, native of Jaën, and the companion of Arramedhi. While the greatest portion of the Western world was buried in the darkest ignorance, the Moors of Spain lived in the enjoyment of all those arts which beautify and polish society. Amidst a constant succession of wars, they cast a lustre upon Spanish history, which the nerveless natives of these days may look back upon with shame and envy. In Cordova, and in every other city, schools were founded, and the numerous public libraries invited the curiosity of the studious. Letters were patronised by the caliphs of the West, with the same liberality which distinguished and ennobled the caliphs of the East. Cordova became the centre of politeness, taste, and genius, and tilts and tournaments, and other costly shows, were long the darling pastimes of a wealthy, happy people. During the course of two centuries this court continued to be the resort of the professors of all polite arts, and for all who valued themselves upon their military and knightly accomplishments.”—*History of Mohammedanism*, p. 141, 142, c. 3.

served their excellence and just reputation. Academies of learned men, in number and occupation like those of modern times,\* were founded by Al-Hakim, in Cordova, which held its meetings in the Meruan palace; while others, of more or equal celebrity, sprung up in Toledo, Seville, Guadaxarra, and Granada; some under the auspices of famous jurisconsults, others under the direction of doctors of the Mohammedan law. In these assemblies, some chapter of the "Book" was the opening subject of discussion: its beauties were extolled, its meaning explained; and the different sects of reli-

\* At Toledo, Seville, Calatrava, forty academicians composed the number, an example which has been accidentally imitated by those of the present day in Italy and France.

gion sometimes compared, approved, or condemned. After this exordium, subjects of science engrossed the attention of the learned members, and the conferences generally terminated by the recital of some new, or some celebrated verses of the day. Perfumes and rose water were then, (as now in the East), handed round, and a sumptuous repast closed the labours and the pleasures of the meeting.

The fair sex were even excited by the universal fashion, and the talents of the Andalouzan beauties were employed, and recompensed by the generous and polite Al-Hakim.

Aischa, daughter of the grand justiciary, was as celebrated for the charms of her mind as for those of her person; her poetry was universally read and ad-

mired, and she exhausted labour and wealth in the collection of a large, yet select library. Myriam, the daughter of one Abou Yacoub, gave public lectures in Seville ; and some of the women of Cordova travelled over the East, in search of fresh acquisitions of literature, and everywhere astonished and delighted the world by their rare talents and elegant accomplishments. Al-Hakim, himself a proficient in many branches of knowledge, determined to bestow on his son Haschem, the best and most solid education. The most eminent masters were appointed to superintend his youthful studies, and to inculcate on his mind the vast advantages of peace and the arts, over the rude employments of war and conquest.

“Never,” said they, “make war un-

less absolutely forced so to do ; for only in peace canst thou form or maintain thy people's happiness. What glory is there in laying waste fertile districts, sacking towns, and carrying death and desolation to the extremities of the earth ? Deceive not thyself with such false maxims of a proud and mistaken ambition. In the practice of moderation and justice, thou mayest live respected and happy, and when the hour arrives, no pang of remorse shall render death terrible to thy soul."

Such were the precepts in which the youthful Haschem was brought up, as Al-Hadi, to the vast and powerful empire of the Ommiades.

The mind of Al-Hakim was once more disturbed by the fierce rebellion of the Zanhag tribe, among the Berber states of



Africa. Al Hassan, its ambitious leader, after various successes, was at length defeated by the talents and valour of the brave Galeb al Garoub, the general of the Spanish forces, and the defeated chieftain repaired to Cordova, to sue for pardon and amnesty, where he was generously received by the King, and hospitably entertained during the period of his residence.

In the mean time, works of the greatest public utility were carried on with activity and judgment. The internal navigation was carried to greater perfection, by enlarging the canals, and the toils of agriculture were lessened and encouraged by the irrigation of the dry lands. Numerous aqueducts watered the provinces of Granada, Murcia, and parts of Arragon, and the parched up earth of

these districts, revived by the all nourishing element, produced tenfold returns. The plough cut the plains and valleys, even to the mountain's acclivity, into whose rich recesses the zeal of the miner dived deep in the successful search for minerals, precious stones, gold, and silver.

Al-Hakim was said by his subjects, to have turned the sword into the ploughshare, and in his reign, the martial tones of the drum and tecbir had ceded to the melody of the soft aber, and the joyous sound of the kitar. The monarch, and the nobles vied with the farmer, in their knowledge of tillage, of grain, and of plants. At the approach of spring, the shepherds, (the Bedouins of Spain), were seen migrating with their rich merinos, to fresh pastures, and all the

empire smiled in the fecundity of her teeming soil, in the intelligence of her people, and in the justice of her wise, and benevolent monarch.\* Death cut

\* Bibl. Arabic. Hispan., Mariana, Cardonne, Conde, and Bibl. Or.—The justice of Al-Hakim was displayed in the following well-known instance: To enlarge the grounds of the Azhara palace, Al-Hakim caused a sum to be offered to the proprietor of the neighbouring land; he refused to sell it at any price; the despotic prince seized it, and the injured man complained against his sovereign before Abn Ben Vafid, one of the magistrates of Cordova. Anxious to do justice, yet fearful of offending the King, Vafid at last ventured on the following expedient. He went with an empty sack and a mule to the gardens of the Azhara, where he found Al-Hakim superintending the erection of a new pavilion on the *unpurchased* ground. The Cadi respectfully asked if he might be permitted to take a little of the earth; his request was granted; after he had filled his sack, he further asked the King to help to lift it on his mule;

short the happy, and the noble reign of

the King consented, but could hardly raise it, with all his strength. Upon which, Aben Ben Vafid spoke thus: "Commander of the Faithful! that sack, which thou canst hardly lift, is but the smallest portion of the earth in this field, how then wilt thou support all its weight when, on the great judgment day, thou hast to render account of thy possessions?"

The monarch returned thanks to the Wazir of police for the lesson he had given him; his justice restored to the rightful owner the property, and his generosity added the gift of the new building as some recompense for the temporary privation.—Conde, vol. 1; Cardonne, tome. 1, who makes the complainant a woman: vide p. 349. A few pages speak of the inauguration of Al-Hakim, whom he calls Hakkam, and a few *lines* can comprise all the events of so remarkable a reign!—p. 343, 348, Edn. 12mo. The Spanish Shepherds, spoken of in the text, are called by Conde, *Moèdinos*, (Arabic) from which, he conjectures, the word *Merinos* (Spanish) was formed. The wool of Spain was most celebrated.

Al-Hakim II. [A. D. 976—7.] The virtuous son of Abdalrahman expired, in the midst of projects for the further increase of his people's glory, in the sixty-third year of his age; and the bitter tears which washed his too early sepulchre, proclaimed the nation's deep sorrow for his loss, and their fears for the coming reign.

Such is a faint, and meagre sketch of the palmy days of Spain; of an epoch, when she gave laws and language to nations; and the model to the reviving literature of the modern world.

Deeply must the historian lament, often must the student deplore, that the Arabian literature, although in the present age somewhat better known, still remains obscured, and confined within barriers which few have been able, or

willing to invade.\* While the poetry, the history, and the arts of a few colonies,

\* "I once more request," says the great hero of Eastern and Western literature, "that in bestowing these praises on the writings of Asia, I may not be thought to derogate from the merit of the Greek and Latin poems, which have justly been admired in every age; yet, I cannot but think that our *European* poetry has subsisted too long on the perpetual repetition of the same images, and incessant allusions to the same fables: and it has been my endeavour, for several years, to inculcate this truth:—

*"That if the principal writings of the Asiatics, which are deposited in our public libraries, were printed with the usual advantages of notes and illustrations, and if the languages of the Eastern nations were studied in our places of education, where every other branch of knowledge is taught in perfection, a new and ample field would be open for speculation. We should have a more extensive insight into the history of the human mind, we should be furnished with a new set of images and similitudes, and a number of excellent compositions*

in the Ionian sea, have formed the attentive and monotonous study of Europeans for ages, while their prejudices have been accounted truth, and their fables received as history ; the mighty nations of the Eastern world, whose antiquity recedes before the search, and to whose origin, the link of creation may be perhaps attached, remain imperfectly explored, dimly read, or barely noticed, except through the medium of religious prejudice, or the equally false colours of the historians of Greece and Rome.

*would be brought to light, which future scholars might explain, and future pens might imitate."*—Sir W. Jones' Essay on the Poetry of the Eastern Nations, p. 189, 190, 1 vol., 2nd. edit., 8vo. London, 1777.

## CHAPTER VII.

Haschem ascends the throne—Muhammed Ebu Amer,  
or Almansour—Rebellion in the African provinces  
—Frontier war—Retreat of the Arabs—Death of  
Almansour.

THE spirits of the great Abdalrahman,  
and of his successor, slept with the just.  
With them departed the splendour of the  
Spanish Ommiades, and the true power of  
the Empire. The childish Haschem was  
left, at eleven years of age, to the tutelage  
of his mother, Sobeiha, and had it not  
been for the genius, the valour, and the



virtues of one man, the crown had at once fallen from his infant brows, and left his name as much a blank in history, as are his qualities, or renown. To the great hero, whose deeds form the matter of the following pages, the reigning dynasty owed its prolonged existence, and the Spanish Arabs their further glory. Yet, had the astrologers of that age really imbibed any of their pretended inspiration, they would have foretold to their favourite soldier,\* the ulterior consequences of his impetuous valour, and we might easily believe that, in that case,

\* The most favourite study or fanciful pursuit of the Hagib, was that of Astrology. He courted and rewarded its professors and paid peculiar deference to their opinions or predictions. Conde, vol. 1; Mariana, vol. 1.

the sagacity of the statesman would have stifled the disappointment of the ambitious warrior. But fate had spun another web for Spain, which it is now the historian's duty to unravel.

During the latter years of Al-Hakim's reign, the talents, and affection of his favorite Sobeiha, had enabled her to assume considerable control over his mind and heart, and she had become an important personage in the regal administration of affairs. Among her secretaries, appeared the young and handsome Muhammed Ebn Amer, a native of a small town in the neighbourhood of Algeciras. Sent early to the capital, he made the most rapid progress in the usual routine of education at the Royal Colleges, and passed through all his studies with distinguished honour. Called hence, to be

Alchatib, to Sobeiha, he had, by his faithful assiduity in that situation, won her esteem and respect, sentiments, in which Al-Hakim participated to a great degree. The death of that monarch placed the kingdom in the hands of Sobeiha, and Muhammed rose consequently in importance ; and on the ruins of his rival's fortune, the Hageb Giaffar, (whose misfortunes and fate are the only stain on Muhammed's name), he built his own power and eminence. The kingdom was governed by his wisdom, and firmness, and by the prudent sagacity of his patroness ; while the degenerate Haschem, sunk in the arms of pleasure and vice, to insignificance and oblivion. The Spanish historians have designated this period as the *reign* of Muhammed ; and though in fact mistaken, yet, the coins,

and the khotbah, were all the signs that marked Haschem's existence either in that, or in any subsequent period.\*

The policy of Abdalrahman, and of his son, had preserved for many years peaceful relations with the Christian states; and the scene of war had usually been exhibited in the plains of Almagreb, and among the fierce tribes of Zanhag and Sus. The desire of Muhammed for conquest, and for personal distinction in the field, added to the ease with which the Mussulmans were excited, and again sighed for battle against the Infidels, made him resolve on entering into a treaty of amity with the chief leader of

\* The King lived always in the greatest privacy, and very few, if any, were admitted to his presence, except the Hagib Almansour, and the Princess So-beiha.

the Berber tribes, in order to unite all the forces of Andalouz in the grand campaign, which he meditated against the states of Leon and Castille. He therefore concluded a peace defensive and offensive, with Balkin Ben Zairi da Zanhag; and then, made a progress along the Ebro to Zaragossa, to inspect the forces and ammunion, and to make all the necessary preparations for taking the field. The war commenced by an entrance into Gallicia, where he committed great devastation, and whence, he returned to Cordova loaded with spoil, and followed by a host of captives. The following year, he again invaded Gallicia with equal success, and on his return, was dignified by the public voice, as Al Mansour; the name by which he is more commonly known in history. Alman-

sour's success excited to the utmost the martial spirit of his countrymen, and the warriors resumed their arms, and eagerly enrolled themselves under the standards of one who appeared equally the favourite of heaven, and of their King. Almansour also spared no efforts to ingratiate himself with the soldiers. He distributed booty among them in larger shares than heretofore, revived the ancient custom of the Arabs, in the feasts of victory, where he visited all the groups, and calling each by his name, gave him his thanks and praise, for his conduct in the battle. Such was the general of Spain ; during war, the stern and dauntless hero ; and the familiar patron of his soldiers, when the hour of danger had passed away. The warlike and active genius of Almansour, left the Christians

no time to recover from his repeated invasions of their territory. Each spring, he ravaged Navarre; each autumn, he laid waste Catalonia. The terrified Asturians, removed from their frontiers nearer to their original fastnesses in the Gallician mountains; and there even the Arabian General prepared to follow them. The troops of the King of Leon, united to the forces of the Count of Castille, prepared to make one more vigorous effort in defence of that territory which it had cost them so much time and blood to acquire, and from which, it seemed but too probable, that so formidable, so unsparing, and so active an enemy, would effect their entire expulsion. Near the banks of the Douro in the following year, the two armies encamped, and prepared for action. In the interim, fre-

quent skirmishings took place, in which the Christians were always victorious. This success alarmed the mind of Almansour, and his discerning eye observed certain other signs, which led him to suspect want of zeal, or loyalty, in the main body of his troops. It was after passing them in glittering review, on the plain where they were encamped, that he retired to his tent, with his Emir Mustapha ; and then expressed his fears of the bravery, or good faith of the soldiers. “ How many,” said Almansour, “ of the faithful and true, thinkest thou we can number in our ranks ?” “ My Lord,” said Mustapha, “ thou surely knowest.” “ Nay, by Allah,” said the Hageb, “ I know not, thinkest thou there are a thousand ?”—“ No, surely not.” — “ Three hundred ?”—“ No.” — “ Then fifty ?”—



“ To tell thee my opinion then, O Hageb, in all that sparkling host, I know but *three*.” This unexpected reply confused and distressed Almansour ; and he was deeply absorbed in the subject, when suddenly the trumpet of a strange warrior was heard, and the officer on guard announced the arrival, before the camp, of a Christian knight, clad in complete mail and alone, who offered single combat to any of equal degree, among the Moslem bands. The challenge was at length accepted ; the stranger coupled strength and courage with singular skill and address ; he laid two of the bravest of the Mussulmans, who had entered the lists, dead upon the ground ; and seeing reluctance among the Arabs again to venture their strength ; he exultingly exclaimed : “ What ! not one brave knight among

your turbaned bands ; none left to measure lances with me ? Come on, then, one, or two, or three ; 'tis all the same to me ; singly, I defy you all."

On this, the army of the Christians shouted loud at the gallantry of their champion ; while that of the Arabs groaned in despair. At length, another knight of Andalouz ventured to try his strength and skill, but in vain ; the sword of his adversary mortally wounded him. " O Mustapha," said Almansour, " thou wert indeed right, when thou saidst we had but three true loyal cavaliers in all our army." " Stay," replied Mustapha, " seest thou the housing of yonder doughty warrior's horse ?" " I do," replied the hero : " Leave me to revenge our dishonoured name, and that housing shall be thine." Mustapha ad-

vanced against the foe. In the desperate struggle which then ensued, each cavalier employed his utmost strength and skill—fortune at last declared against the Castillian; Mustapha overthrew him; transfixed him with his sword; and having cut off his head, brought that, and the trappings, in triumph to Alman-sour's tent. This success reanimated the courage of the Arabians; the trumpets sounded for the general onset, and the charge of the Moslems was so tremendous and continuous as to sweep the Christians entirely from the field of battle. Nine thousand captives were added to the rich booty of the Arabian General, who returned to the capital amidst the admiration and plaudits of all classes. From the cities of Leon and Astorga, the principal citizens had retired towards

the north, taking with them their treasures, their wives and children, and the minds of the peasantry of the Douro country were in consequence filled with apprehension and dismay. In the year 983, these towns fell after a long resistance into the power of the Arabs, and as the struggle had been obstinate, the massacre was dreadful ; those who escaped death were carried away in slavery, the cities were burnt, and the fortifications reduced to a mass of ruins. After this great, and decisive expedition, Alman-sour retired to repose from the fatigues of warfare, in Cordova.

Here, the sternness of the warrior suddenly subsided : and in a civilised capital among the arts, and scenes of peace and elegant profusion, the mighty soldier assumed the character of a vigilant minis-

ter, a lover of literature, an admirer of art, and a promoter of all the useful institutions of his country. He rewarded the eminent poets, and astronomers, and raised several to the Walisates of various provinces. The great aqueduct which brought the waters of the Guadalquivir, over an extent of nearly thirty miles, were completed about this time in the town of Ecija, by the orders and superintendence of Sobeiha, and a suitable inscription commemorated the useful event.\*

Almansour visited the colleges, and

\* See the Arabic (and Spanish translation) in Conde, vol. 1, p. 496. It is dedicated to the mother of the Prince of the Faithful, and contains her praises. To Sobeiha and her faithful architect, Sahib Xarta, Cordova owed the erection of a splendid Mosch, called after the name of the Princess.

academies throughout the kingdom, and often distributed the prizes of merit with his own hands. Few ever paid so much attention, and with so much success, to having eloquent preachers in the Moschs, sincere and able Fakirs in the laws and doctrine of Islamism ; nor were these ever in greater number, than during the *reign* of Muhammed Ebn Amer.\*

The arms of the Arabs were again pointed towards the Pyrenees, and the total subjugation of Catalonia contemplated, when the attention of Almansour was diverted and absorbed, by the breaking out of a formidable rebellion in the African provinces. The defeated chief-

\* Arabic MSS. of Toledo, Shonner and Conde, vol. 1, see also Swinburne's Travels, vol. 2, p. 217. The whole 98th chapter of Conde, gives all these particulars in great detail.

tain, Al-Hassan, who had on his submission, been so graciously received, and so hospitably entertained by Al-Hakim in Cordova, had long since retired from that city, to the residence of Nasour, the Soldan of Lower Egypt; and now, that the great forces of the Andalouzan army were engaged in a war of extermination against the Christians, Al-Hassan deemed it a favourable moment, for reasserting his pretensions in Almagreb. He, therefore, raised a considerable force: and as the ally of Almansour, Balkin, pretended that he had been compelled by the orders, and power of Nasour, to grant Al-Hassan considerable aid; the rebel's army thus shortly assumed an imposing aspect. Nevertheless, the bravery, and generalship of Abdalmelec, (who was sent to command the opposing forces by his

father Almansour), overcame the allied tribes, who were defeated in a few successive engagements ; and seizing the person of Al-Hassan, he brought him once more to Spain, where he was executed in the environs of Tarifa. Thus perished the last of the royal family of the Edrissites, celebrated as the founder of the Morocco Empire.\* Although, for a short period Almagreb again was reduced to submission, the war soon recommenced by the open treachery of Ben Zairi, who, in violation of his existing treaty with Almansour, invaded the Cordovan possessions in Africa, and with his son Ben Zairi Mansour, ravaged the district. The Andalouzan General Aboulbehar, defeated his forces, and again proclaimed

\* See Cardonne, vol. 1. Conde, vol. 1. D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. vol. 1, p. 624.



the authority of Spain, in that disaffected province ; but seized by one of those sudden, and astonishing caprices, for which no explanation can be given, Aboulbehar, in the hour of victory, turned his arms against the Andalousian power ! In this emergency, the faithful Zanites were appealed to, and they took the field to support the cause of the Ommiades. Ben Atha, chief of that tribe, reconquered in a few months, the whole district from Zab to Ceuta and Tangiers. In the King's name, the valorous chieftain was invited over to Spain, where he was sumptuously entertained, and dignified by the title, and privileges of the Wali, or Wazir of Almagreb.

His father had, however, borne that of Emir, and whether Ben Atha aimed at independence, or that his vanity was

offended at what he considered an insulting distinction, he abruptly quitted Cordova, and retired in great, and manifest discontent to Fez, where, in the following year, he appeased his anger, or ambition, by attempting to usurp the honours, and power of an independent sovereign.\* On this event occurring, for the first time, the Zanites appeared arrayed in battle against the Spanish Ommiades, and the contest was long, and painful, and the success equally divided. The stab of a murderous Berber had nearly ended the Zanite's days, and gave renewed vigour the efforts of his adversaries. The wounded Ben Atha retreated to Mequinez, where he attempted, but in vain, to make head against the son of Alman-

\* Cardonne, tome 1. Conde, tome 1.

sour, whose valour, skill, and activity, finally succeeded in terminating the war, and presenting the states of Fez, and Almagreb, as peaceful tributaries to the Spanish crown. This glad news was publicly proclaimed at the Alcazar, and in all the Moschs, according to custom. On the joyful day of the Fête of Victory, it was rendered doubly splendid from acts of public beneficence, dictated by a civilised humanity. Liberal alms were given to the destitute ; unhappy prisoners confined for debt,\* were liberated, and

\* The general rule in Moslem lands respecting debtors is, that when the debt is clearly proved before the court, i. e. Cadi, the imprisonment will follow on execution against the debtor, unless the debt be paid. All the debtor's effects are sold by the Caidât or judgment. But the imprisonment is limited, and generally is prescribed in the condemna-

their bonds cancelled ; the great bridge of Toledo was commenced ; and fifteen hundred Christian men, and three hundred women, and slaves, were restored to the blessings of freedom.

The after efforts of Ben Atha, to disturb the peace of Africa, were of little avail, and the turbulent chieftain at length met his death in the deserts, from a disease, occasioned by his many wounds, and from which, the skill of his Hakim could not preserve him.

About this period, the nuptials of Abdalmelec and his niece, the lovely Haliba,\* were celebrated in Cordova. All

tion of the judge. If the debtor be a trader or artisan he is made to work out his debt, according to his calling. Vide Hedaiah, c. 20, Bib. du Roi ; and the Commentary voce Gorrare.

\* She was the daughter of Abdalla Ben Yahic Ben

the citizens joined in the festive ceremonies on the occasion, among which, not the least interesting, or important, were those of giving the great alms to the

Abi Amer and of Boriha, the daughter of Almanzor, hence she was the Hagib's grand-daughter, and the niece of Abdalmalec. Vide Conde, vol. 1, c. 99, where the whole ceremony of these nuptials is detailed. "We shall look in vain among the laws of nature for prohibited degrees of marriage. The doctrine of the *horror naturalis* is a fiction; it was raised by those moralists who were unable to mark the difference, between nature and custom. The history of mankind confutes the doctrine. Nations the most polished, such as Phenicians, Egyptians, Persians, Athenians, and Lacedemonians — people the most savage, the Tartars, and North American Indians for example, have been accustomed to marriages among their nearest relations." Mohammedanism, c. 5. But in all cases and in all nations, the affinities of mother, daughter, and sister, have barred the ties of marriage.

poor, the handsome endowment, and marriage of one hundred female orphans ; and the elegant contests of literature, where prizes were discerned to the best, and most tender poet. The marriage rites were solemnised in the superb gardens of the Al-Ameria, until that time, a royal appanage, but which were then presented, as a gift, to the noble Alman-sour.\*

All the nobility were present. The bride was proceeded in her progress through the streets, by a troop of the most lovely damsels of the city ; she was seated on a car of triumph, made of solid gold, and drawn by the purest blood

\* They were situated behind the Meruan palace, and were called Al Amer-ia, from the period when they became Almansour's property. Bibl. Or. vol. 1, p. 318 and Conde, c. 99.

horses of the desert, the perfumes of Arabia Felix, and the precious stones, and metals were profusely scattered among the crowd; and the high officers of state, the Cadis, and various bodies of the civil and religious corporations, with bands of music preceded, and a numerous suite of distinguished military officers, of Sheiks, and of the most eminent of the citizens, closed the splendid train. On the return to the palace, the bride was led to a beautiful pavilion, whose doors, a chosen band of young girls defended, armed with ivory lances tipped with gold. Against these lovely warriors, the gallant Abdalmelec was to attempt to force his entry; by the help of a few select associates, the light and fanciful contest was brought to a speedy close; and the epithalamium of the hap-

py pair was sung amidst the shouts, and rejoicings of the people, and the brilliant illuminations of the palaces, gardens and city of Cordova. (986—987.)

In the meantime, Almansour had not allowed the Christians to remain in peace. He had again entered the Gallician territory, sacked, and burnt many towns, and villages, and after nearly destroying Compostella by fire, had led away from its smoking ruins, four thousand slaves, and as a permanent trophy of his success, the bells of the Cathedral of St. James were taken down, brought away, and placed in the court of the great Mosch of Cordova.

In the year 1001, the army of Alman-sour again took the field. Chosen bodies of men had been transported from the



African provinces to Valencia, where they were disembarked, and joined the immense levies of horse and foot from Merida, Toledo, Murcia, and from all Andalusia. It appeared, from his mighty preparations, as if Almansour had resolved, that this should be the final struggle ; and that when his victorious army should reenter the capital, the faith, and power of the Christians should have been exterminated throughout all the Pyrenees. Nor were the preparations of his adversaries less extensive. Feeling the dreadful emergency of the case, the Kings of Leon and Navarre, for the first time, united their forces, and the Count of Castille entering shortly afterwards into this sagacious alliance, the combined army was enabled to pre-

sent a striking, and most formidable appearance.\*

Dividing his great force into two divisions, of which, the one was composed of the foreign troops from Africa, while the other, composed all the Andalouzan soldiers, Almansour scoured the country along the banks of the Douro, without meeting any resistance, which could insult his pride, or call down his vengeance. Suddenly, he was startled by the bright and martial appearance of the Christian army, in the neighbourhood of Medina Cœli, near the Castle of Anozor,

\* Ascargorta, *Hist. d'Espagne*, vol. 1. Conde, vol. 1, and Cardonne, vol. 1. of which latter history, I must observe that either the authorities of all the Arabic MSS. of the Escorial are unworthy, or the narrative of Cardonne is completely so, from the time of Al-Hakim's decease to the fall of the Ommiades.

and between the town of Soria, and the banks of the river. It is said, that on viewing the vast extent, which the armament of the Gallicians covered, their solid phalanx, and glittering warlike array, the hearts of the Arabs were seized with some misgivings, as to the success of the coming hour. Yet, when that hour arrived, at the sound of their inspiring tecbir, they joined in the war cry, obeyed the voices of their generals, and rushed to the battle. The contest raged fiercely from the rising to the setting sun, and all seemed aware, that if once the Christian banners lowered to the storm, the power of that faith was at an end, and the kingdom of Pelasgus for ever demolished. The Christians, therefore, made the most heroic struggles. In vain the Arabian cavalry swept

the ground in their tremendous charge ; in vain Almansour rallied and cheered his drooping, or his retiring squadrons. In vain the sound of tecbir and drum, the promise of the Prophet, the pride of long success, and the remembrance of former victories. All these, for the first time, fell ineffectual on the Moslem ear and mind. Night overshadowed the frightful scene of carnage, and the two armies remained upon the plain, amidst the dying, and the dead. At dawn of the succeeding day, Almansour reluctantly gave the order to retreat ; and the Christians, too sorely galled to offer resistance, or to attempt pursuit, saw with the returning light, their dreaded enemies receding from the field.

Overcome with grief, and exhaustion, and covered, with wounds Almansour,

carried in a covered litter, accompanied his army, to Walconari about forty miles from the fatal field, and close to the town of Medina Cæli. Here, his son Abdal-malec had already arrived, to console the wounded pride of the hero, and to reanimate him with future hopes. But the mind of Almansour was too deeply penetrated with the accursed remembrance, that the Christian faith and power had mocked his efforts, and that it still survived, and he yielded to his proud despair; his broken heart breathed forth its last sighs in the embraces of filial affection, while the news of his death spread gloom and sorrow throughout the empire.

Clothed in his panoply of war, (the mark that he died in holy service of the Alighed,) and borne, and surrounded by

his dejected soldiers, the body of the noble and generous warrior, was consigned to the tomb;\* and the inscription of his valour and exploits, was the production of a poet of that faith, and nation, which, while living, he had nearly exterminated.†

\* His body was covered with the aromatic dust, which the conqueror had collected and carefully preserved, from his armour and person in the fifty fields of battle, in which he had been engaged against the Infidels. *Los Arabes*, tome 1, p. 548.

† Don Hernandez Moratino, a dramatic writer of Spain. The epitaph (the only one of all composed, which still exists) is in Spanish and the wandering stranger may still view the Arab's sepulchre at Medina, Al Zelim, and these words,

“ No existe ya, pero quedó en orbe  
Tanta memoria de sus altos hechos.  
Que podras, admirado, conocerle  
Cual si le vieras hoy presente e vivo

The character of Ebn Amer Alman-sour appears that of a great, and generous mind, of unequalled valour, romantic gallantry, and of highly refined and useful tastes. If in the pride of courage, and imbued with the spirit of Islamism, he wasted men and money, in the pursuit of the Alighed, yet, in victory, he was merciful, and in peace, he courted the useful arts of his age ; joined the society of the learned, and shared in the honours, as well as in the pleasures of literature.\*

The princess, who had befriended his

Tal fue, que nunca en sucesion eterna

Daran los siglos adalid segundo.

Que asi venciendo en guerras, el imperio.

Del Pueblo del Ismael acrezca y guarde."

\* Vide Conde, vol. 1, c. 98, and passim from p.

497 to 548.

youth, and so sagaciously dignified his after life, survived him but a short time. At her decease, the monarchy virtually expired. The scenes of power, taste, and splendour, which have so long beguiled, and fascinated our attention, now recede, and must fast disappear in the blank and cheerless aspect of anarchy and tedious rebellion, innumerable factions, and monotonous warfare.



## CHAPTER VIII.

Haschem deposed—Civil war—Muhammed declared King—Death of Muhammed and reascent of Haschem to the throne—Supposed death of Haschem—Continuance of civil war and decline of the Arab power.

THE son of Almansour, the brave, the ardent, and the faithful Abdalmalec, was selected by the dying princess, as the Hagib of her son, and the choice was confirmed by the approval of the majority.

The Zanite chief, Alman Ben Zairi sent rich presents, in token of his esteem, and his only son Mansour, as the

pledge of his fidelity.\* Anxious to revenge the memory of his father, to obliterate his last defeat, and to acquire for himself, the admiration of the people, Abdalmalec entered the Christian territory, and laying waste the province, utterly destroyed the city of Lerida. On this, the exhausted Gallicians proposed for peace, and the unwillingness of the Hagib was overcome by the advice, and persuasions of the generous Abdalla, the brother in arms of Almansour. A treaty for three years was entered into, at whose expiration the war was renewed, and the destruction of Avila, and of Salamanca, attested the power, and the success of the Mussulmans.

\* The youthful Mansour remained in Cordova till the after troubles of the royal family broke out ; he was sent back to his father by Suliman.

In 1008, Abdalmalec returned to Cordova, where the pains of disease interrupted his projects of military glory, and his patronage of the arts, and he soon after expired, by the decree of fate or the hand of an assassin;\* having administered with zeal, and success, during six years and a half, the affairs of the kingdom. His young, and dissolute brother Abdalrahman, aspired to, and obtained from the vicious Haschem, the vacant post. The first act of the new minister was to corrupt the people, the second, to depose his benefactor and King. The unfortunate Haschem was forced to resign the sovereign power, and the kingdom became the scene of civil war. The

\* “ Y de su grave dolencia falliò en la luna de Safer del año (1008) 399 no sin sospechas de haberle atosigado.” Conde, vol. 1, p. 557.

rich and powerful members of the royal race, cursed the usurping Hagib, and took vigorous measures for his utter destruction, and the Prince Muhammed, the great grandson of the great Abdalrahman, solicited by that cherished name, and by his own claims, the suffrages and the assistance of the Arabian people. Strengthened by strong reinforcements, and by all those who hated or despised the upstart pretensions of the Hagib, Muhammed appeared before the gates of the capital, and all the people took up arms to support one or other of the two great factions which were destined to destroy and obliterate the dynasty of the Ommiades in Spain. The Alites, and the Alamerites, so denominated from their respective origins, in turn swayed the sceptre, and oppressed the people. The

Andalousian soldier generally enrolled under the royal banner; the African tribes marched in the rival ranks.

The army of Muhammed advanced to Cordova, and surprised the capital, and a desperate struggle ensued, when the streets were washed with blood, and blocked up by the bodies of the slain. Victory declared for Muhammed, and the cruel death of his rival extinguished the house of Almansour, and the real pretensions of the Alamerites. But the spirit of faction was too widely sown, and the Walis too aspiring, not to renew the quarrel and prolong the war. Muhammed, declared Hageb, aspired in his ambition to the name, as well as power of the King. For this purpose he meditated the murder of Haschem, and was only dissuaded by the wily Whada, the

personal attendant of the deposed monarch. Whada proposed to gratify the wishes of Muhammed at a less expence than by the effusion of royal blood ; and to this Muhammed acceded. By the murder of some meaner personage, the traitors accomplished their design ; the death of Haschem was publicly announced, and the people were deceived and gratified by the pomp and ceremony of his supposed funeral. Muhammed was then proclaimed King, under the title of Mohdî Billah, or the Conciliator.

The forcible expulsion of the African guard was one of the first acts in the new reign, and those proud warriors, burning with revenge, instantly joined the discontented faction, and chose Hischem Ben Suleiman as their leader. In a fierce encounter between the hostile parties,

Hischem was defeated, and his gory head thrown from the ramparts among his followers, added fresh fuel to the spreading flame. Suleiman, his cousin, was chosen as his successor, and the Africans could hardly have selected a braver, or a more sagacious general.

Before hazarding decisive measures, Suleiman withdrew from Cordova, traversed with celerity almost all Spain, rallied his friends, bribed his enemies, and, advancing to the North, made a treaty with the Christian kings, and with Sancho of Castile, who readily lent him money and troops, on the condition of having certain territories ceded to them, in case of his success.\* Fortified with

\* The conduct of the Christian kings, at this period, if not honourable, was at least politic. Had they made general war against the Arabs for the

these, Suleiman joined the great body of the Alamerites, and advanced his standards to the mountains near Quintos, where the forces of his rival, Muhammed, shortly afterwards arrived.

The battle, which ensued, was long and bloody; the royalist forces were completely routed. After leaving twenty thousand Cordovans dead or dying on the field, Muhammed fled to Toledo, where Obeidalla, his son, was Wali; while the victorious Suleiman marched without delay to Cordova, and seized the capital, and vacant throne. In the midst of an alienated people, he was proclaimed Al

purposes of conquest, they would have extinguished that flame which, while it consumed their enemies, fed their own future prosperity; and, in the interim, the various pretenders to power, in Cordova, paid for the infidel's assistance, at the dear price of money and territory.



Mostin Billah, and then fearing the vengeance or treachery of the Cordovans, who hated his cause, and were, at that time, attached to the Ommiadan race, he withdrew to Azhara. A conspiracy headed by Mervan, a cousin of Suleiman, shortly broke out, but was as speedily suppressed; and the principal leaders paid the forfeit of their lives. The insidious Whada proposed to Suleiman to murder all the Christian auxiliaries who were then in Cordova. To this base suggestion Suleiman was too generous to lend an ear, and, in order to prevent it, he sent the foreigners away loaded with presents; but when Whada disclosed to him the secret of Haschem's existence, and suggested the propriety of publishing it to the world, the ambition of Almostin was too great to allow of such

a proceeding, and he refused to accede, on the plausible but artful grounds of expediency. In the mean time, with a recruited force of thirty thousand regulars, and nine thousand Christian auxiliaries, Muhammed again appeared near Cordova, to renew the contest. At twenty miles from the capital, on the field of Acbah Al Bucar, the rival powers met ; the troops of the northern provinces, especially of Catalonia, performed prodigies of valour and strength, and after a long and equal struggle, Suleiman retreated. Not daring to venture within Cordova, he repaired at once to the Azhara, collected in haste all the money, plate, and jewels from the palace, mosque, and mint, and pillaged the rich and lovely town, and then, with hasty marches, withdrew to Algesiras, whence he intended to embark for Africa.

The capital and environs were again invested by the troops of Muhammed, and this espouser of the royal cause, this *conciliating* descendant of the Ommiades, did not hesitate to allow the total pillage of all that which, in the hurry and confusion of the moment, had escaped the avarice of the African guards.

Muhammed then hastened after the retreating Suleiman, with whose forces he came up on the plain near Ronda. While slowly approaching the port of Algeciras, Suleiman meditated on his best course; fortune, it was true, had been adverse, yet she was fickle, and might change: the lovely scenes around him allured his lingering steps, and the sight of his foes reanimated his hopes, and confirmed his purpose.

“Soldiers,” cried he, “if we fly, we die shamefully; and if we are conquered,

we can but perish ; let us then trust once more to our swords, and invoke victory, our sole resource."

The soldiers of Muhammed gave way before the impetuous shock of the African cavalry ; their ranks were broken and dispersed, and Muhammed arrived almost alone at the gates of Cordova. The fortifications were ordered to be instantly repaired ; day and night all the citizens were compelled to the unceasing toil, and this, added to the misfortune of defeat,\* produced violent murmurs against

\* Success, says the Arab historian, decides the infamy or the virtues of a man : " El malvado que vence es un heroe : el hombre justo y bueno, vencido, es un infame y digno de un patibulo."—Conde, vol. 1, p. 573. The world in that age, as in those which preceded, and have since succeeded, judge only by one criterion, and that often the most fallacious, *the result*.

**Muhammed.** Whada was the Hagib, and the moment seemed propitious to this versatile and acute politician. The auxiliary troops of Castille took alarm at some sinister expressions, and retired from a city of treason and murder. Suleiman occupied the suburbs of Cordova, and the hour of Muhammed's popularity was passed. Suddenly the apparition, as it were, of the long lost Haschem, was presented to the eyes of the astounded Cordovans, who hailed his reappearance amidst the loudest cry of joy and applause, while Whada, exulting in this celebrated stroke of policy, proclaimed

Motives cannot always be discovered, and are seldom sought for, and man is content to form his opinions, and to regulate his judgment, by the blank or prize which his fellow creatures draw in the varied lottery of human life !

once more as King the son of Al-Hakim.

Muhammed concealed himself, and depending on the fidelity of the Slavonian guards, still kept up his hopes. His confidence was however misplaced, his hopes were vain; Anbar, the captain of that troop, dragged him to the throne, and to the presence of Haschem. By that monarch's order his head was cut off, and sent to his rival Suleiman, in the belief that such an example might produce terms of submission. The fierce Suleiman smiled in derision at the threat, while he opportunely turned the occurrence to his own great advantage. The head of Muhammed was carefully wrapped up, and addressed to his son Obeidalla, with these words: "Thus, does the King Haschem, in reascending his

throne, repay the services of those who assisted him there. This is the head of thy father, beware of falling into the hands of this ungrateful tyrant ; if thou desirest thy safety and vengeance, thou wilt accompany Suleiman."

An accompanying present of ten thousand pieces of gold was not forgotten, and the result was perfectly successful. The head of his father, Obeidalla buried with great pomp and respect, accepted Suleiman's present, swore eternal vengeance against Haschem, and then proceeded to join his father's rival with twenty thousand men, whom he had but just before destined to fight against him. But ere he reached the camp of his new ally, the Hagib Whada, by an activity and skill combined, overthrew his plans, corrupted the Count of Castille, who was

always ready to sell his services to the highest bidder, and seized on Toledo. The alarmed Wali retraced his steps ; near Maqueda he lost his army, one of his generals was crucified, and he himself taken prisoner and brought to Cordova, was there decapitated by order of the King. The death of this youthful commander, and the alliance with the Christians, disgusted and alarmed the Mussulmans, and the faith and conduct of Haschem and Whada were suspected and loudly condemned. The King, however, received his successful minister with the greatest affection, and, on this occasion, displayed his gratitude, while he evinced his total want of all discernment, by giving the most tremendous blow to the royal power. He granted to the friends of his favourite the fief or fee simple of Murcia, Carthagena,



Alicante, and Denia for ever, with right of hereditary succession to their children : A fatal example which, once begun by the one party, was sure, when occasion required it, to be imitated by the other ; and accordingly, shortly afterwards, Suleiman bought large assistance by similar concessions to the Walis of Saragossa, Medina Cæli, Calatrava, and the Guadalaxarra. By these means, Suleiman raised an enormous force, and was soon in a state to seriously threaten the overthrow of all his opponents.

Under these circumstances, Whada wrote in the King's name to Aben Hamoud, the Wali of Ceuta, and to his brother Alcassim, the Wali of Algeciras, and Malaga, enemies of Suleiman, to promise them, on Haschem's part, as conditions of their assistance, the titles of Al-

Hadi, and Wali Al-Hadi, to the throne of Cordova ; but when the despatches had been sealed, the Hagib believing the danger was past, deferred sending them. The plague soon after broke out and ravaged Cordova ; the army of Suleiman blockaded the environs, and Haschem alarmed and suspicious, conceived notions of a conspiracy, of which Whada was the supposed leader : without proofs, and without any consideration, the weak and vacillating monarch appeared to forget the talents, the services, and the zealous fidelity of his minister, and, in a moment of passion, the order of his death was issued and executed.

The only proofs of his treason which could ever be discovered, were the letters to the two sons of Hamoud, and as the King had himself assented to their con-

tents, they in reality amounted to no proofs at all\*.

Haïran, of Sclavonian origin, and a naturally generous and charitable disposition, was the successor of the murdered Hagib ; and his bravery and talents might, at an earlier period, have saved the monarch, or delayed the empire's fall. But the wise and benevolent exertions of Haïran were checked or annulled by the conduct of the King, who kept all around him in fear and suspense, and

\* Whada, whatever might be his duplicity towards others, evinced the greatest sagacity and fidelity to his rightful King and master, and had he lived, might have successfully retarded the fall of Haschem and his house. Nothing but imbecility and madness could account for this King's conduct on this, as well as many other subsequent occasions. Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat, appeared fully proved by Haschem's line of conduct.

alienated the remaining affections of his people, and estranged the nobles by his ill-judged edicts against all whom he suspected or dreaded.

Suleiman, at length, advanced on Cordova. The attack was tremendous ; the efforts of the new Hagib were vigorous and well directed, but he was finally compelled to succumb before the superior power of the besiegers on the one hand, and the apathy of the Cordovans on the other, who now had lost all desire, but that of pillage, and viewed the temporary triumphs of either party with a perfect indifference. After defending his King to the last, Haïran retreated, covered with wounds, to the house of a poor, and nameless host, where he was carefully concealed and kindly treated. Suleiman seized the throne, and the person of Has-

chem, who finally disappeared in a cloud of mystery, and was never more seen or heard of. Probably his conqueror was urged, both by his natural hatred, and from political motives, to put an end to Haschem's existence; and this contemptible prince expired without leaving one regret in the minds of his subjects, or one virtue for the pen of history to record. [About 1013.]

In the meantime, Halkan repaired after his wounds had healed, to the Wali of Ceuta, Ali Ben Hamoud. He represented to him that he had only to appear in Spain, to assert King Haschem's cause, (whose death he carefully concealed), and to be completely successful. He detailed to him the vast advantages that would result from so doing, and that he, Aben Hamoud, would eventually suc-

ceed to the royal honours of Cordova ; he depicted the misfortunes of the last Omniade with zeal and ability, and he succeeded in his purpose. The mind of Ali was touched with pity ; though his temper was fiery, his heart was generous, and with feelings of compassion and ambition combined, he swore to raise his standard, to reestablish Haschem, or, if he were dead, to revenge his memory. He instantly wrote to his brother Alcassim to aid all the enemies of the usurper, and he sent a considerable body of troops to Malaga, which was opposed, on its landing, by the Wazir of that town, a man devoted to Suleiman's interests. Nevertheless, when the troops of Aben Hamoud declared their loyal purpose, the inhabitants rather aided than opposed them ; the troops of the Wazir were forced to re-

treat, the invading army advanced, and all the Alamites took up arms and joined the standard of the African Wali.

On this news, Suleiman, leaving his aged father in Cordova, marched with a large army to Almuneçar, in the neighbourhood of which port, Aben Hamoud, Al Cassim, and Haïran had assembled their allied force.

On the heights around, Suleiman contrived to post his troops and harass the enemy ; but, at last, he was compelled, by the able manœuvres of Haïran and Aben Hamoud, to give a general battle. This event, however, did not occur until a year had passed away in useless and fatiguing skirmishes and onsets, and when harassed and alarmed at the vacillation of the war, and the defection of many of his troops, and at the daily increase of

those of his enemies, Suleiman knew that the decisive hour could no longer be delayed.

In the vicinity of Seville, the great engagement took place; the Andalousian troops, who formed the greater part of Suleiman's army, deserted during the combat, and turned the fortune of the day against him. His valour was in vain; he was utterly defeated, and being taken prisoner, was carried back to Cordova, where the fiery Aben Hamoud, after vainly demanding the place of Haschem's concealment, passed his sword through the bodies of Suleiman, and of all his family. This scene took place in 1016 and 1017; the lost Haschem was sought for during a long time, and his non existence appeared proved beyond a doubt. Aben Hamoud



then ascended the throne. A conspiracy against his usurpation was immediately formed. Crying out, once more, the long cherished name of the Ommiades, the people took up arms, more perhaps from the recollection of the past than with hopes for the future. Their efforts were, however, completely paralysed by the sudden energy of Aben Hamoud, their whole army completely routed, while he confided the pursuit to his general Gilfeya. But Haïran still stood his ground, and rallying his forces at Jaën, proclaimed, as King, Abdalrahman Al Mortadi, great grandson of Abdalrahman III., and, at that name, the Arabs once more marched to battle and victory.

Most of the provinces declared for Al Mortadi, and while Gilfeya pursued the war with vigorous perseverance, Aben

Hamoud himself advanced to the siege of Almeria, which was defended by the presence and the skill of Haïran. The city, however, was at length taken by storm, the head of Haïran was struck off by Aben Hamoud's own hand, who returned to Cordova in triumph. But the death of Haïran could not extinguish the hopes of his party, and by corrupting the body guards of Aben Hamoud, the Alamerites succeeded in their purpose.

The body of the African Emir was found dead in his bath, and Al Cassim flew, from Algeciras to Cordova, to seize his power and revenge his murder. The stern temper of their new governor alarmed and disgusted the citizens ; they cared little for Aben Hamoud, and less for Al Cassim ; and though the cruelties exercised by the latter, on the Slavoniarr

guards, whom he considered as his brother's murderers, might have been tolerated, yet the frequent executions of nobles and rich citizens, who had become suspicious to the foreign tyrant, quickly prepared the way for Al Cassim's downfall. At the same time Yahic, the son of Aben Hamoud, came forward to assert his rights to the succession, and arrived in Spain to maintain them at the head of a large body of black cavalry, composed of the negro tribes of Sûs, a most ferocious and unsparing sect. Alarmed at this news, and at the ease with which Yahic seized on Malaga, and foreseeing that Al Mortadi would only profit by their dissensions, Al Cassim proposed to his nephew to make common cause against the Ommiade; and that Yahic should divide with Al Cassim the kingdom; that, du-

ring the contest of the succession, Yahic should occupy and govern Cordova, while his uncle should take, as his division, Malaga, Seville, and the southern ports ; and that the war against Al Mortadi once finished, they should reign together over all Spain.

These terms being agreed to, Al Cassim departed with his brother's remains for Ceuta, and Yahic arrived at Cordova, where he was received with marks of affection, which surprised and gratified him. He soon discovered with what horror and aversion his uncle was regarded in that city, and profiting by this state of the public mind in his own favour, and by the absence of Al Cassim in Africa, he ventured to proclaim himself *sole* heir to the throne.

The people, as fickle as the ever veer-

ing wind, saluted him with every demonstration of joy, and most of the Sheiks and nobles took the oaths of allegiance and fidelity.

The war was carried on near Jaën, with great success, by Al Mortadi ; Gilfeya, and the Wali of Granada, could do little or nothing in the way of resistance ; and Abdalrahman was advised to march on the capital ; advice to which he appeared willing to accede. In the interim, Al Cassim, furious at his nephew's treachery, relanded in Spain, marched to Cordova, and forced Yahic, who had at the moment but few troops, to fly the city, into which he entered and renewed his persecutions and tyranny. The people were, at last roused, money and promises were scattered around by a band of powerful conspirators : the palace was closely be-

sieged for fifty days, and, in the end, Al Cassim only owed his life to the generosity of some few nobles, who covered his flight, and guarded his retreat to Xeres. The army of Gilfeya engaged that of Al Mortadi, and the fight lasted from the rising to the setting sun. Victory declared for the arms of the Ommiade, while at the same moment, and in the pursuit of the flying enemy, chance directed a winged messenger of death against the person of the prince, who fell amidst the shout of conquest, and the sighs of all his friends. [1022]. The hopes of his party appeared to perish with him; consternation and dismay paralysed their efforts and their minds. The Cordovans dreaded the return of Yahic, and the news of Al Mortadi's death turned their bright visions to

the gloom of night. In the moment of despair, the Alamerites regained their self-possession, and they elected and proclaimed Abdalrahman Ben Haschem, the brother to Muhammed el Mohdi, and like him, a descendant of the great Anasir. This new monarch was in the flower of his age, and of an irreproachable life and manners, and the generality, won over by his manly virtues, his appearance, and his lineage, once more flattered themselves with the hopes of a revival of Arabian splendour, as in the days of Abdalrahman and Al-Hakim. The shadow of hope only flitted across their path. The energy with which Abdalrahman V repressed the insubordination and military tyranny of the 'Zanite troops, and indeed of the army in general, irritated the proud and licentious soldiery ; his

cousin Muhammed, jealous of the preference which had been accorded to Abdalrahman, joined in a conspiracy, and the latter fell under the stabs of his guards in the palace, while Muhammed was proclaimed King [1023].

The most terrible scenes of plunder and licentiousness succeeded, and Muhammed seemed only anxious to enrich himself for the express purpose of retiring to the Azhara, and there, wasting all his ill-got treasures, in the ungoverned pleasures of sensuality. Meanwhile, Yahic had obtained possession of the person of his uncle, and had placed him in close confinement, in which, after some years were elapsed, he expired.\* The reign of Muhammed was soon destined to close ;

\* Cardonne says, he was put to death at once.—

Vol. 1, p. 373.



his riches once gone, his fickle friends became his most decided enemies, and the unhappy prince remained, in trembling anxiety for his life, within the forlorn magnificence of the pillaged Azhara. At length, revolt was openly declared against him, he was timely warned to fly, and guarded by some faithful adherents, he retired into the province of Toledo, and bid an eternal farewell to the pleasures of empire. In the fortress of that province, he was received by its governor, a dependant of the Ommiades ; his reception was, in appearance, generous and hospitable, but, in reality, the Wali aimed at his life, and the death of Muhammed, after a few days, evinced the completion of his purpose [1025.]

The Wali of Seville, Aben Ábad, owed his elevation to Al Cassim, and when in-

vited to Cordova, on the flight of Muhammed, to take the oaths to Yahic, he boldly replied, that he would never swear allegiance to the head of a party which only merited his contempt. The enraged Yahic immediately ordered troops to invest the province of the rebellious Wali, and proceeded, in person, to take revenge for the insult. Aben Abad advanced with a large force to oppose the *despicable* Yahic. Skilful and cautious, the warrior drew the son of Hamoud into an ambuscade, cut his army to pieces, and sent his head to Seville, sole, but convincing mark of his victory. This event spread dismay in Cordova; to prevent the renewal of absolute anarchy, the nobles of that city assembled and elected, as their sovereign, Haschem Ben

Muhammed, the brother of Al Mortadi.  
[1026.]

This prince had passed a long time in the pursuit of science and the arts, enjoying, without other ambition, the gifts of nature, and the solid fruits of a life spent in the pleasing labours of the mind, and the extension of human intelligence. He saw, with regret, the arrival of the *imperial* mandate, he attempted an excuse, but the Alamerite nobles personally waited on him, resistance became no longer possible, and Haschem III was forced to accept of a crown, stained with the blood of his family, and sullied by the contact of the usurper's brows. Fearing the fickle and corrupt Cordovans, he alleged the pretext of war against the Christians, for immediately advancing on

Castille, where he ordered the army to assemble. The Christians had gained many advantages, which Haschem now obliged them to cede. In a war of three years' duration, he acquired reputation and success, and at the end of that period, he was induced to go to Cordova to appease the murmurs of his capital, and to gratify, with his presence, the people, who complained, as yet, they had not seen their King.

He was there saluted by an immense multitude ; and he set seriously to work to repair, with moderate firmness, some of the many evils which usurpation and anarchy had-given rise to. The efforts of the philosopher, when coupled with the influence and power of the King, might have been fairly expected to prove successful ; but the Walis enjoyed and

refused to diminish one iota of their independence for the welfare of the state. The treasury was exhausted, and the finances, cut off by rebellion or robbery, were scantily remitted, often forgotten, or refused. The people were suspicious, industry and security were no more, and Haschem III remarked, with truth and regret that, in his age, man could no longer govern or be governed. The populace soon after insulted their new monarch, who withdrew in disgust to the Azhara palace. The turbulence of the capital then broke out in open rebellion, and the dethronement of Haschem was loudly demanded. The faithful Aben Gewahr arrived at the palace to communicate this unpleasing news to his master, who not only received it with placid in-

difference, but seemed rejoiced to retire from the turmoil of the regal life, to the quiet and security of his early days.

In the year 1031, Haschem III, the last of the Spanish Ommiades withdrew his family and friends from the city and palaces of Cordova, and retired to his castle of Abou Xarif, where he resumed his happy life. The remainder of his existence was employed in a quiet usefulness (1038), and the memory of his virtues was long preserved after the power of his race had for ever perished.\*

\* The Arabian historian Alathir, says Conde, states that soon after the deposition of Haschem, one of the Ommiades, a rash and inconsiderate youth, appeared and tried every means to persuade the council of nobles to elect him as their king, were it only for a

Thus fell the dynasty of the Ommiades, or the White Caliphs\* of Spain. From the landing of Abdalrahman in the port of Almuneçar, to the departure of Haschem from Cordova, nearly three hundred years had elapsed. In that period, the Arabs of Spain had progressed and perfected in dominion, arts, sciences, commerce, and literature. The royal office had been sustained (with few exceptions), by able and virtuous princes,

day. He, however, could not succeed, and the young and ambitious Ommiade disappeared, and was never heard of more.—See Conde, vol. 1, p. 625.

\* So denominated from the colour of their dress and standards, as their adversaries, the Abassides, were denominated the Black Caliphs, from the sad hue which they chose as their insignia :—“ In the visible separation of parties, the *Green* was consecrated

who, each year, had added to their own renown, and had increased the prosperity of the empire.\*

to the Fatimites, the Ommiades were distinguished by the *White*, and the *Black*, as the most adverse, was naturally adopted by the Abassides."—Fall and Decline, vol. 10, p. 30.

\* "The race of the Ommiades need not shrink from a comparison with any other dynasty of equal length in modern Europe. Many of them amused their leisure with poetical composition, of which numerous examples are preserved in Conde's History, (and in the historical Appendix to this narrative), and some left elaborate works of learning, which have maintained a permanent reputation with Arabian scholars. Their long reigns, the first ten of which embraced a period of two centuries and a half, their peaceful deaths, and unbroken line of succession in the same family, for so many years, show that their authority must have been founded on the affections of their subjects. Indeed, they seem, with one or two



### Henceforth the history of the Arabs in

exceptions, to have ruled over them with a truly patriarchal sway; and, on the event of their deaths, the people, bathed in tears, are described as accompanying their relics to the tomb, where the ceremony was concluded with a public eulogy on the virtues of the deceased by his son and successor. This pleasing and moral picture affords a strong contrast to the sanguinary scenes which so often attended the transmission of the sceptre, from one generation to another among the nations of the East.

“ The munificence of the Omniades was most ostentatiously displayed in their public edifices, palaces, mosques, hospitals, and in the construction of commodious quays, fountains, bridges, and aqueducts which, penetrating the sides of the mountains, or sweeping on lofty arches across the valleys, rivalled in their proportions the monuments of ancient Rome. These works, which were scattered more or less over all the provinces, contributed especially to the embellishment of Cordova, the capital of the empire.

Spain assumes a different tone and colour. War, rebellion, and intrigues are its chief elements, the growing strength and pride of the Christians its principal

The delightful situation of this city; in the midst of a cultivated plain, washed by the waters of the Guadalquivir, made it very early the favourite residence of the Arabs, who loved to surround their houses, even in the cities, with groves and refreshing fountains, so delightful to the imagination of a wanderer of the desert. The public squares and private courtyards sparkled with jets-d'eau, fed by copious streams from the Sierra Morena, which, after supplying nine hundred public baths, were conducted into the interior of the edifices, where they diffused a grateful coolness over the sleeping apartments of their luxurious inhabitants."

This elegant and vivid description is taken from the work of Mr. Prescott, "Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella," vol. 1, p. 393-4-5. Ed. London, 1838.—Bentley.

events, till at last the descendants of the defeated Roderick claimed, and won back from those of his illustrious conquerors, the fertile lands, the rich mines, and the lovely domains of all the Peninsula of Spain.

END OF VOL. II.

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